DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 042 785 TE 002 044

AUTHOR	Roever, James E., Ed.
TITLE	Proceedings; Speech Association of America Summer Conference V: Research and Action (Minneapolis, July 18-19, 1969).
INSTITUTION	Speech Communication Association, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Jul 69
NOTE	153p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Speech Communication Association, Statler Hilton Hotel, New York, N.Y. 10001 ($2.00 prepaid)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC-$7.75
DESCRIPTORS	*Activism, Campuses, Communication Skills, Community Relations, Disadvantaged Youth, *Field Studies, Language Development, *Negroes, Negro Organizations, Research, *Rhetoric, *Speech Education, Urban Environment

ABSTRACT

Contained in this record of proceedings are (1) workshop reports on priorities in research and recommended actions concerning black rhetoric, campus conflict, community relations, speech education for the disadvantaged, language and speech acquisition and development, and field studies; (2) a keynote address, on "Student Activism and Academic Research: Action and Reaction," by Philip Altbach; and (3) three essays which supplement the report of the field studies workshop--"Assumptions For Field Perspective in Speech-Communication" by Dennis Winters, "Field Studies in the Urban Situation: Chicago 1967-68" by Russell Jennings, and "The 'Natural Experiment' as a Research Methodology for the Study of Speech-Communication" by Keith Sanders and Thomas Pace. Bibliographies on black rhetoric, community relations, language and speech acquisition and development, and field studies are provided, as are listings of negro newspapers, journals, periodicals, organizations, and representative black speakers. (MF)

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PROCEEDINGS

SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA SUMMER CONFERENCE V

THEME: RESEARCH AND ACTION

Leamington Hotel, Minneapolis, Minnesota

July 18 and 19, 1969

Edited by

James E. Roever

Speech Association of America
Statler Hilton Hotel
New York, New York 10001

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Acknowledgments

I wish to express my thanks to members of the SAA Research Board (Robert Kibler, Carroll Arnold, and Frederick Williams) under whose guidance the 1969 Summer Conference was conceived and executed, the Summer Conference Planning Committee (Jack Daniel, Dorothy Higginbotham, and Frederick Williams) whose assistance was invaluable in developing the format for the 1969 Summer Conference, those members of the SAA Administrative Council, Educational Policies Board, and Ad Hoc Committee on Social Relevance who responded to my requests for topics and participants for the workshop groups, Carol Smith who diligently handled registration and behind-the-scenes arrangements, and Carol Roever and Maxine Hendelman who assisted in the editing and typing of this manuscript.

Those who deserve special praise are the six workshop chairmen (Robert Cathcart, Richard Gregg, Lyndrey Niles, Thomas Pace, Jesse Villarreal, and Barbara Wood) who gave of their time and energy to organize their workshop groups, carried on the preliminary correspondence to rally their groups to the tasks, served as chairmen of the workshop sessions, presented the reports to the General Session, synthesized their own remarks and the remarks in the question-and-answer sessions which followed their reports to write the recommendations which follow, and agreed to appear as a panel at the forthcoming 1969 SAA National Convention. Likewise, praise is given to the persons who agreed to serve as participants in the workshop groups (biographical sketches of the workshop chairmen and participants follow each set of recommendations) and to those of the 250 who attended the 1969 Summer Conference who came as "observers" and emerged as "participants."

Philip G. Altbach, Associate Professor of Academic Policy Studies and Indian Studies at the University of Wisconsin, presented the Keynote Address. The text which appears in these *Proceedings* is the prepared text rather than a transcript of the extemporaneously delivered address.

I should also like to express my thanks to Lillian D. Anthony, Director of the Department of Civil Rights for the City of Minneapolis, and other members of the black community in Minneapolis for the luncheon program which expressed "The Black Experience." I only wish that there were a way to transcribe the preaching, gospel singing, "chitlin test" and other examples of black rhetoric into a meaningful written experience for the reader of these *Proceedings*.

Each workshop was given the option of providing supplementary materials for the *Proceedings*. Three essays represent views which supplement the report of the Field Studies group; the essays were prepared by Russell Jennings, Thomas Pace, and Dennis Winters. Bibliographies which follow individual sets of recommendations were prepared by the chairman or members of each group.

Shortly after the Summer Conference, I received a letter from Roger Hite of the University of Oregon in which he indicated that he had been deluged with requests for "Racial Rhetoric: A Bibliography" which was mentioned in the Spring, 1969 *Contemporary Public Address Newsletter*. Likewise, I received "The Black Revolution in America: A Selected Bibliography" which was prepared by Patrick Kennicott of the University of Maryland for his graduate course entitled "Persuasion in the Black Revolution." The two bibliographies complement one another and are presented as supplements to the report of the Black Rhetoric Group.

James E. Roever
SAA Director of Research
Summer Conference Coordinator

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FIFTH ANNUAL SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA SUMMER CONFERENCE

THEME: RESEARCH AND ACTION

July 18 and 19, 1969

LEAMINGTON HOTEL--MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

Thursday Evening, July 17
8 pm to 10 pm: REGISTRATION--Mixer--Cash Bar--Washington and Adams Rooms

Friday, July 18
8 am to 9 am: REGISTRATION--Adams Room
9 am to 10 am: GENERAL SESSION--Iowa Room

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: "Student Activism and Academic Research: Action and Reaction." PHILIP G. ALTBACH, Associate Professor of Academic Policy Studies and Indian Studies at University of Wisconsin. Ph.D. in Comparative Education from University of Chicago. Author of *A Select Bibliography on Students, Politics, and Higher Education* (1967) and *Students and Politics in Bombay* (1968). Editor of *Student Politics and Higher Education in the United States: A Select Bibliography* (1968). Editor, with Seymour Lipset, of *Students and Politics* (1969).

10 am to 6 pm: WORKSHOP SESSIONS--Hall of Presidents

Workshop A--Black Rhetoric: What priorities in (a) research and (b) action should SAA promote (as an association and as individual members) for development of curricula--either as separate courses or as part of existing courses--in the area of Black Rhetoric?--Hoover Room
Workshop Chairman: Lyndrey Niles, Federal City College

Workshop B--Campus Conflict: What priorities in (a) research and (b) action should SAA promote to improve the likelihood of conflict management or conflict resolution on college and university campuses?--Taft Room
Workshop Chairman: Robert Cathcart, Queens College

Workshop C--Community Relations: What priorities in (A) research and (b) action should SAA promote in seeking to develop professional expertise useful to community relations and community action programs?--Roosevelt Room
Workshop Chairmen: Richard Gregg, Pennsylvania State University

Workshop D--Disadvantaged: What priorities in (a) research and (b) action should SAA promote in the area of speech education for the disadvantaged?--Lincoln Room
Workshop Chairman: Jesse Villarreal, University of Texas

Workshop E--Language and Speech Acquisition and Development: What priorities in (a) research and (b) action should SAA promote with respect to language and speech acquisition and development among children?--Jackson Room
Workshop Chairman: Barbara Wood, University of Illinois--Chicago

Workshop F--Field Studies: Develop examples of research methods and designs which can be used to yield reliable and valid results from field studies of human symbolic interaction.--Jefferson Room
Workshop Chairman: Thomas Pace, Southern Illinois University

Saturday, July 19

9 am to 12 pm: GENERAL SESSION--Illinois Room
Presentation of recommendations by workshop chairmen and discussion of recommendations by assembly.

12:15 pm to 2 pm: SUMMER CONFERENCE LUNCHEON--Michigan-Indiana Rooms
BRIEF COMMENTS: J. Jeffery Auer, Chairman of SAA Structure Committee
Donald Bryant, First Vice-President of SAA
Lloyd Bitzer, Principal Investigator of National Developmental Project on Rhetoric

PRESENTATION: "The Black Experience." LILLIAN D. ANTHONY, Director of Department of Civil Rights for City of Minneapolis. On Board of Directors of Urban Coalition, Guthrie Theatre, Children of Biafra Relief Fund, Inc., and B-Sure Inc.--Afro-American Cultural Center. Member of National Council of Negro Women, Minnesota Legislative Commission, and Urban League of Minneapolis. Experience includes Board member of the Department of Education for Mission of National Council of Churches of Christ, English Teacher at Pressley Memorial Institute in Assiut, Egypt, program for voters' registration in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and consultant on training in human relations for religious, educational and civic groups.

Introduction to General Session

James E. Roever; Speech Association of America

I wish to welcome you to the Fifth Annual SAA Summer Conference. As we have pointed out in some of our pre-conference materials, this Conference was conceived and promoted as innovative when compared to preceding Summer Conferences. We have tried to react to the pulse of many in the field who would have us examine substantive issues with the end products being those of research and action. As a professional organization, in one sense we are a national office attempting to stimulate research and action programs; in another sense we are you and you are responding to your own needs. If it were not for active members in an organization pursuing credible, worthwhile, and relevant issues there would be no need for an organization. A professional organization cannot--or at least should not in my opinion--exist if it does not provide responsible leadership in the scholarly discovery and practical application of knowledge relevant to its discipline.

I see this Summer Conference in the spirit of such projects as the New Orleans Conference on Research and Instructional Development which led to the publication of Conceptual Frontiers in Speech-Communication. I see this Summer Conference in the spirit of the forthcoming National Developmental Project on Rhetoric. I see this Summer Conference in the spirit of a quest for the analysis and synthesis of six substantive areas which require our conscientious attention. I see this Summer Conference as an opportunity for Black SAA members to establish a base from which to more meaningfully develop the speech-communication research and action programs relevant to other members of their racial group. I see this Summer Conference as an attempt to more creatively involve Black and White SAA members in meaningful interaction which should result in "viable coalitions" between Blacks and Whites.

As I stated in a recent press release: "It is time to stop the name-calling which usually accompanies the attacks of 'irrelevancy' and get down to the business of stating, in a positive way, those things which can and should be done." While we should not expect miracles in a day and a half, I am optimistic that good will come of your efforts.

Report of Workshop A -- Black Rhetoric

Lyndrey Niles, Federal City College

"What priorities in research and action should SAA promote as an Association and as individual members for development of curricula--either as separate courses or as part of existing courses--in the area of Black Rhetoric?"

At the beginning of the session, the committee immediately agreed upon the following:

I. Agenda
  A. To determine areas of needed research in Black Rhetoric.
  B. To list priorities.
  C. To recommend "action steps" for the SAA and its membership.
  D. To discuss and make available to the audience some materials for Black Rhetoric courses prepared by individual members of the committee.

II. That the definition of Rhetoric would not be limited to Public Address but would rather include Communication in a broader sense.

After much discussion by the committee, aided by an attentive and inquiring audience, the committee proposed the following research areas. (Number 1 was the only listed priority.)

1. A. How can one determine who or what organization should be the receiver of communications intended for the achievement of specific goals of a black community?

B. Given the goals, and the receiver, what kinds of verbal appeals would lead to the accomplishment of the desired goal; or, how can one make the identified receiver a receptive audience?

C. After the results have been attained, how can or should the results be disseminated to the concerned black community? (It was stressed that in this particular study liaison should be established with the community under consideration.)

2. Is there a historical-cultural relationship between the Afro-American's behavior in using intermediaries for religious instruction and specific African tribal usage of intermediaries between kings and rulers and the masses of their people? Under this same question we could further ask:

A. What is the effect of intermediaries in terms of message comprehension and persuasion?

B. How and under what circumstances are intermediaries used as persuasive forces?

3. Number 3 continues in the area of the black church.

   A. What characterizes the communication networks in the black church organization?

   B. How do instructions, information, power, and initiatives to change flow through the church organization?

   C. What communication forms and strategies are used to resolve conflict in black churches?

   D. What is the relationship between secular and religious rhetoric, if any?

   E. What do these rhetorics relate to insiders and outsiders of the church community?

   F. What is the nature and effect of the melodious cadences of black speakers in the process of persuading?

4. What non-verbal cues have the greatest significance in the black community?

5. Verbal strategies may be assumed to be necessitated by the situations in which black people find themselves. Can such strategies be conceptualized by intuition and then verified by field studies?

6. What is the significance of various verbal reinforcement of the black speaker's message by listeners, or conversely, what significance do the black preacher's verbal interjections such as "Lord help us today," "Pray with me," "Do I hear you," "Say Amen," have on the communication situation?

7. How may content analysis be used in identifying social and linguistic shifts in black rhetoric?

8. What is the impact of protest music on a segment of the black population and a segment of the white population of the same age group? Examples would be James Brown's "Open the Door or I'll Get it Myself," and "I'm Black and I'm Proud," Nina Simone's "Mississippi God Damn," Aretha Franklin's "Think About What You Are Trying to Do to Me," or Lou Rawls' "I'm Breaking My Back Instead of Using My Mind."

9. To what degree, and in what ways, have black ministers participated in the economic, social, and political phases of the black revolution?

10. A. In what ways have the sit-in and mass demonstrations served as communicative acts or devices in the black revolution?

    B. What persuasive strategies motivated the youth in using such devices?

    C. What were the effects of the devices?

    D. What was the role of group singing, non-verbal cues and persuasive messages in sustaining these sit-ins and demonstrations?

The following action steps were recommended by the committee:

1. A. That the SAA appoint a number (unspecified) of black members to compose a research board responsible for reviewing all of the research proposals submitted by the committees at this summer workshop for designing research methods, conducting pilot studies where necessary, and coordinating the research and subsequent publication of these studies and that the SAA provide funds for the board, consultants and any other incurred expenses.

   B. That the Speech Association of America work in conjunction with other organizations or groups engaged in similar research pursuits.

   C. That the proposed research board be responsible for gathering information and reports from colleges and universities with black rhetoric studies or programs in progress and disseminate said materials through the national office or by means of a speaker's bureau as they shall deem fit.

2. That the SAA support and oversee the publication of a comprehensive revision of the History of American Public Address which reflects the contributions of minority groups. Specifically, pro tempore:

   A. A publication of History and Criticism of American Public Address, volume four, covering black orators.

   B. That the annual bibliography of rhetoric and public address published in Speech Monographs add sections which include available materials dealing with studies in communication of America's various ethnic groups.

3. That the SAA promote and sponsor in conjunction with a university, or universities, a Summer Institute in Black Rhetoric.

4. That the SAA National Office keep on file for distribution upon request bibliographies, reports, syllabi, etc., in black rhetoric submitted for such distribution by members of the association.

5. That the SAA make a policy statement recognizing the lack of multi-ethnic reality in textbooks and courses in which we purport to teach speech in American society and in this statement vigorously support research which reflects the multi-ethnic character of American society. In addition, that the SAA recommend exchanges between faculty and students of predominantly white colleges and faculty and students of predominantly black colleges.

6. That a recommendation be forwarded to the Elementary and Secondary Education Interest Group to explore possibilities of preparing pedagogical materials dealing with communication and language arts curriculum.

Due to the lateness of the hour, the committee was unable to discuss the Black Rhetoric course at length, but the members made available to those present copies of course descriptions, bibliographies and syllabi which were prepared and used by members of the committee.

Upon presentation of the report to the general assembly, two responses were made from the floor. The first challenged the association as an "action step" to indicate to Congress its opposition to legislation infringing on individual freedom within the university and urged Speech faculties to become advocates for the establishment of Black Studies Divisions on campuses where such divisions do not now exist.

The second speaker complimented the committee for its work of the previous day and for the report presented to the assembly.

(Editor's Note: Following the report presented by Lyndrey Niles, a conference participant made the following statement.)

"Having seen the various of the six discussion groups, we certainly will bring praise to this particular one. I want to give praise publicly to the gentleman who served brilliantly as chairman....Also, this was a good interacting group who tread frequently with delicacy over troublesome areas and handled it beautifully because they were an excellent group cooperatively venturing forth to come to the conclusions as you have heard presented. The whole group deserves high praise. I would like to put in this testament with reference to my own thinking at this conference and then raise praise for the whole conference. Before I came to this conference I would not have voted that our particular university enter a program of black studies. I go home voting in the other direction because of the action of this group and particularly because I see that what this group is trying to do is an evolutionary step in the field of rhetoric. Through the years we have emphasized the Greek, the Roman, the British, and the white American rhetoric. This particular step in the direction of black rhetoric I hope will lead to the broadest conception of rhetoric in that we also study in the not too distant future the Mexican, the Oriental and other rhetorics of the world.... I would like to see us go along with this group and then proceed to make the broadest study of rhetoric in all areas in our many cultured world."

Workshop A--Participants

__Lyndrey__ __Niles__ (Workshop Chairman). Lecturer in Black Education Division of Federal City College and Ph.D. Candidate at Temple University. B.A. Columbia Union College (1963). M.A. University of Maryland (1965). Previously taught at Columbia Union College and Howard University. Producer of "The Afro-American," a radio series on WGTS-FM in Washington, D. C. Consultant in Speech Education in Alexandria City Schools, Virginia (1967-68). Research in progress: "Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. and the Rhetoric of Adaptation."

__Lucia__ __Hawthorne__. Ph.D. candidate at Pennsylvania State University. B.S. Morgan State College (1964). M.A.T. Washington State University (1965). Work experience includes Baltimore City Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore Public Schools--Division of Guidance and Placement and Division of Special Services. Previously taught at Morgan State College. Resource person for Project in Oral Communication for the Disadvantaged in "Youth and Young Adults" program in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (1967-68). Consultant in Pittsburgh Manpower Program (1968). Research in progress focuses on the rhetoric of the black urban dweller as typified in "Simple," a character created by Langston Huges which appeared in columns from 1943 to 1966.

Patrick C. Kennicott. Assistant Professor and Chairman of General Speech Division of Department of Speech and Dramatic Art at University of Maryland. B.S. Florida State University (1962). B.D. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary (1964). M.S. Florida State University (1965). Ph.D. Florida State University (1967). Previously taught at University of Delaware and North Florida Junior College. Ph.D. Dissertation: "Negro Anti-slavery Speakers in America." Currently recipient of summer research grant to study "The Rhetoric of Black Power." Beginning in Fall will offer graduate seminar entitled "Persuasion in the Black Revolution."

Robley Rhine. Assistant Professor and Chairman of the Department of Speech and Drama at University of Colorado--Denver Center. B.A. Southwestern College (1953). M.A. University of Colorado (1957). Ph.D. University of Wisconsin (1967). Consultant in Communication to the Adams County (Colorado) War on Poverty (1967). Consultant to the Metro-Denver Area School Superintendent's Council (1968). Member of Denver Urban Coalition Task Force on Public Attitudes. Associate of Center for Urban Affairs at University of Colorado. Teaching course in "Rhetoric of Revolution--Black Orators." Collector of tapes and recordings of Black and Chicano speakers. Investigating the preparation of high school speech teachers in areas of black speakers and movements.

Robert Scott. Professor of Speech-Communication, Director of Graduate Studies, and Chairman of the Speech-Communication Division in Department of Speech, Communication and Theatre Arts at University of Minnesota. B.A. Colorado State College of Education (1950). M.A. University of Nebraska (1951). Ph.D. University of Illinois (1955). Previously taught at University of Houston. Principal interests are in criticism of contemporary rhetorical discourse and in rhetorical theory. Co-author, with Wayne Brockriede, of The Rhetoric of Black Power (Harper and Row, 1969).

Arthur Smith. Assistant Professor at University of California, Los Angeles. B.A. Oklahoma Christian (1964). M.A. Pepperdine College (1965). Ph.D. University of California, Los Angeles (1968). Previously taught at California State Polytechnic College, San Fernando Valley State College, Purdue University. Was Chairman of Committee on Afro-American in Indiana Higher Education and advisor to Purdue Black Student Union. Ph.D. Dissertation: "Samuel Adams' Agitational Rhetoric of Revolution." Author of The Rhetoric of Black Revolution (Allyn and Bacon, 1969). Co-author, with Andrea Rich, of Revolutionary Rhetoric (Moore, 1969).

Report of Workshop B -- Campus Conflict

Robert Cathcart, Queens College

"What priorities in research and action should SAA promote as an Association and as individual members to improve the likelihood of conflict management or conflict resolution on college and university campuses?"

This report will be liberally sprinkled with the workshop chairman's own interpretations and evaluations because the panel did not reach consensus on specific research and/or action proposals. We were unable to do so in part because we are still too close to the problem of campus disruptions and uncertain of what the future offers. Some of us were intimately involved in disruptions on our own campuses while others have yet to experience such confrontations. The discussion among panel members and participant observers revealed that we as professionals are poles apart in our initial or gut reactions to campus disorders and too inexperienced with this modus operandi to form objective judgments. For example, panel members could describe at length experiences with campus disruptions this past year but could not formulate specific research proposals which would aid conflict management. On the other hand some participant-observers who had not experienced campus disorders readily condemned all such disruptions and would not dignify them as objects of research. Furthermore, and more fundamental, we were unable to reach agreement on which of the following two premises we should accept as basic to the discussion:

(1) campus disruptions are fruitful and viable activities which should be encouraged in order to bring about dialogue, freedom from repression, and university reform; and

(2) campus disruptions are inimical to the functions of a university and we must find ways to quickly and effectively rid ourselves of such conflicts. I don't think we, as a panel, resolved this issue and I don't know that we are, as an association or as individual speech professors, yet ready to decide on which side we stand.

I will report the proposals that I think we came close to agreeing upon, keeping the above limitations in mind. The panel tended to opt for action or action accompanied by research, rather than postponing needed action until research studies had been made. There was a feeling that it was necessary for the speech profession to press for action to change cmmpus conditions rather than remain neutral. Opinions were sharply divided on this point, however, ranging from those who felt that all research proposals were efforts at delaying or preventing action to those who believed that no action should be endorsed until supportive research data were available. One conference participant offered the following criticism of our action priority: "One can study the role of the student in the decision making process without one whit of concern about communication variables or the kind of factors that go into some kind of human symbolic interaction. Sociologists and social psychologists have been doing this for quite awhile. People in sociology and intellectual behavior have been studying power structures without one ounce of concern for communication, communication variables, and the kinds of things that go on when humans interact with one another. And apart from any kinds of judgments about what value priorities we ought to establish in this conference, I would hope the recommendations would come out in terms of research proposals that reflect the kinds of expertise that are represented here. I would agree there are probably questions having to do with power structure that are communication questions and I realize that two days is a short time to define them, but I think this would be our next task, defining those kinds of research areas that are relevant to the academic expertise we have represented here."

The primary action proposal generally agreed upon was that the SAA and individual members act to make students equal partners in both voice and vote in all decision making on the university campus. This proposal was in keeping with the findings of The Cox Commission Report, Crisis at Columbia, "We are convinced, however, that ways must be found, beginning now, by which students can meaningfully influence the education afforded them and other aspects of the university activities," (p. 198), and the Lewis B. Kaden, "Report to the Secretary's Committee on Easing Tensions in Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare," "The intolerable tactics of some students should not obscure the real questions raised by a much larger number. They seek more immediate participation in determining the conditions of their own lives and a greater voice in structuring the institution closest to them, the university or school. It used to be that student involvement in social affairs of the university was sufficient..... Today the concerns of students run much deeper. The roots of their discontent are complex, intertwined with large issues of public policy, national direction and social values. On the campus they seek a voice in determining curricula, faculty appointments, and the university's relationship with the surrounding community." (pp. 1-2).

The panel was not certain of the most effective means for bringing students into campus decision making. It was proposed that research studies be undertaken to determine how this can be accomplished most swiftly (e.g. student-faculty senates, departmental committees, etc.) and to determine the effects of student participation in campus decision making. To this point, the Kaden Report notes, "The appropriate scope of student involvement and the method of participation are of critical importance and largely unexplored..... On the campus, as in other community disputes, there is neither backgroud nor experience, and no procedures exist for dealing with this problem." (p. 11).

Some conference participants questioned the justification of student participation in campus decision making and others questioned the scope of that participation. As one conferee stated it, "I think we ought to recognize that just as students must have power, that student power has been stringently limited and must be extended greatly, we ought not to assume that this extension is an unlimited extension into every decision-making activity." The response of some panel members was that students ought to have a voice in controlling their own destiny and a right to participate in those decisions that will affect them. It was generally agreed that this was an area for further exploration and research, and since decision making is within the purview of speech professors, student decision making on campuses should be studied and encouraged by members of the SAA.

It was proposed that we could learn more about campus conflict management and resolution by studying formal and informal power structures that exist on our campuses. Although there have been some studies of formal power relationships on campuses among trustees, administrators and faculty, little data have been collected about the informal power structures that exist on each campus and which came into play particularly in crises or conflict situations. Further, in the past year or two students have set out to deliberately shift the power centers on campuses and as yet we understand little about the means employed and the effects achieved. Studies such as Robert L. Scott and Donald K. Smith, "The Rhetoric of Confrontation," (Quarterly Journal of Speech, February, 1969) and Herbert W. Simons, "Confrontation as a Pattern of Persuasion in University Settings," (forthcoming in Central States Speech Journal) give us some insights into the means used to shift power on the campus, but we don't know how we can shift power to students in a non-confrontation situation and what the effects of such shifts might be. It was recommended that in conjunction with such studies we examine how the power structure of a given campus is perceived by the various groups on that campus. Such information might be helpful in understanding the nature of the conflicts that take place.

Another recommendation that was generally supported by the panel was that the Association and its members act to bring about community involvement in formulating the educational goals of the college or university. As with student participation, it was felt that campus conflict could be lessened if there was active involvement of the community with the college on many levels. We should find the means to bring this about. To accomplish this, research studies are needed to determine exactly what is the community that a college serves and what interactions among campus and community groups are most productive to the furtherance of educational goals. It was felt that this was a particularly fertile area for research because it has been overlooked in so many studies on higher education.

There was considerable discussion of the extent and limits of campus confrontation, but only tentative agreement that confrontation is a legitimate form of communication which should be included in the study of rhetorical and communication theory. Some panelists felt that acts of confrontation and disruption are part of a total communication process. We as speech-communication experts must research this phenomena and be ready to explain the part it plays in human problem solving. There was some disagreement on this point centering around the inability of the panel to define the reasonable limits of protest and confrontation. One participant held that all forms of confrontation are legitimate -- "Whatever it takes to bring about change." Others held that all forms of confrontation are "illegitimate" because they tend to thwart rational deliberation and persuasive communication. Perhaps the question of legitimacy of confrontation is an irrelevant one. Rather than attempting to judge various confrontation situations a priori at this stage we should learn more about how they come into existence, and what is being communicated to whom by what means when confrontation takes place.

There were several proposals made by individual panelists which did not produce consensus or even majority approval (in some cases due to lack of time for deliberation). One such proposal was that the SAA and individual members refuse to participate in studies which gather data that can be used to suppress campus protest. An example cited was the American Council on Education Study of Campus Unrest funded by the National Institute of Mental Health. This study calls for the collection of detailed data on the types of students involved, the forms that protests take, the groups participating, etc. which can be used by college administrators to "deal with" and "prevent" campus unrest. It was urged that "the Research Board of SAA and its membership refuse to participate in studies like the ACE one; to actively discourage students from taking part in them; to work to end such studies; and to work toward the destruction of data banks which make masses of information available to repressive agencies."

Another proposal was that the SAA in keeping with its position on freedom of speech uphold the right of protest as essential to free speech. The Association should report cases where college administrations act or speak in a manner which denies students and faculty the right to protest legitimate grievances. One member suggested that we examine "institutional" rhetoric to learn more about the ways it is used to muster public opinion against campus protest. Another member suggested that we explore ways to make the college community more open to confrontation in the broadest sense of that word. That is, we should explore the means of opening the university at all levels to all parties involved so that there can be continuing dialogue about the shortcomings of the university and more participation in upgrading the university by all segments of the academic community.

These are the action and research proposals we offer concerning campus conflict. That they are murky and incomplete is due not only to the newness and emotionality of the topic, but also to the fact that campus conflict is symptomatic rather than basic. To attempt to cope with campus conflict only is to attempt to cure the symptoms and not the illness. We are in a period of sweeping and rapid social change and the university is at the moment the most relevant agency to that change. Harold Taylor, in his book The World as Teacher (Doubleday, 1969) describes it well when he says, "The University and its variants, the liberal arts college, the community college, and the junior college, is the instrument with which the young define their own special qualities and their growth, measure the successes and failures of their elders and prepare to take their places in a world fractured by violence, isolation and alienation. Their understanding of the modern American university is more profound than that held by most faculties, administrators, and trustees, let alone legislators and congressmen." Until we recognize this we are not ready, in my opinion, to define the kinds of research appropriate to campus conflict.

Below are selected excerpts from papers of various panel members used in support of positions taken at the Conference.

Philip K. Tompkins:

"I would like to suggest that the academic situation of today is analogous to the industrial situation of thirty years ago. The tactics are remarkably similar: organizing drives, demands for recognition, negotiations and participation; strikes, boycotts and the seizure of buildings through sit-down strikes. We have even seen police action, violence, and riots. The purges have already begun. The S.D.S. has been banished by its parent organization -- the League for Industrial Democracy.

.....What has been the role of the faculty and administration in all of this? That of pre-unionization management: jealous of its 'prerogatives,' unwilling to accept students as equals in communication, quick to call for police action.

.....Worker grievances did not originate at the moment they acquired the grievance procedure. Student grievances did not originate at the moment they began to press them. Could not some of the riots have occurred because the frustration with corruption was heightened by an absence of effective grievance procedures, an absence of true discussion?

.....My proposal is a true university senate in which administrators, professors, and students are represented. I propose this to be the policy-making body of the university....

.....My prognosis is that until the students have a formal procedure by which to *resolve* their legitimate grievances, until they achieve *real* discussion with faculty and administrators, they will adopt, in frustration, other, more dangerous tactics. Dangerous to them and to us. Mr. Charlie often uses the *topos* that if one sympathizes with student goals, he thereby condones spitting, obscenity, arson and violence. I wish to make explicit that I do not condone such things -- well, I must admit that in the intimacy of a few friends I do gain satisfaction from ripping off a few dirty words. But the other things I don't condone. In fact, I wish to avoid these things with my proposal. That is not why I make the proposal -- I do that because I think it is the right thing to do -- but it would, I think, be a way to avoid them. It's too late for the 'democratic spirit' without the substance. The empty cliche -- 'let's listen to them, but reserve the right to do as we please' -- is too little and too late."

Helen H. Franzwa:

"......Probably, compromise is the best method of resolving conflict in a college atmosphere, but for it to work, we need to look for ways to eliminate the 'non-negotiability' of student demands and to remove the feeling that violence is necessary and justified. What is needed is an attempt to bring students into positions of greater legitimate strength. Then, they will have a greater feeling of control over their academic careers, they can help to make some of the changes which many people in higher education agree are necessary, and they can also see first hand that many of the checks and balances (which make everything take so long to get accomplished) are often reasonable and necessary. At the same time, the faculty should take a more active part in running the university.

Is it possible for students and faculty to work together in the decision-making of the university? Those who have not yet had the experience of working with students might doubt it, but I can testify to its successfulness and would also like to suggest specific ways for students and faculty to behave when working together in order to maximize the cohesiveness and productivity of their joint effort.

If faculty and students are to work together successfully they must be convinced that their mutual activity will facilitate rather than hinder attainment of goals which are rewarding to both. But, if students and faculty see each other as opponents and behave accordingly, little can be accomplished. How can current attitudes and behavior manifesting a degree of hostility be changed? Thibaut and Kelley argue that a 'relationship might be expected to develop most cohesion and morale when the two individuals discover and employ some means of moving from one pair of compatible sets to another.' One way to do this is to eliminate incompatible sets.

The incompatible sets which are currently contributing to the lack of cohesion which characterizes many student-faculty relationships are faculty insistence on a superior role vis-a-vis students and student distrust of faculty intentions. They must be eliminated for a good working relationship to endure and to produce significant and acceptable change.

........What is the future for student-faculty decision-making? One thing is certain: student pressure for active and meaningful decision-making is going to increase rather than diminish. All over the country Black and Puerto Rican or Mexican students have taken the lead not only in demanding programs which offer courses and field work relevant to their experience and future occupations, but they have also done the greater part of the thinking and work necessary to make those programs a reality. They are not going to sit back and watch the faculty take over the operation of the programs which they fought so hard and worked so diligently to achieve. They want an equal share in future decisions just as they have had this past year.

We can expect the same attitude from white students. They, too, are asking for more relevant courses, less restrictive curricula, new methods of evaluation of their work, better teaching, more control over their own education. They are beginning to take part in rational discussion with faculty about how these changes may be brought about. In the coming year we will see much greater insistence for a more equal role for students in the great changes which are now inevitable in American higher education. And students should take part: they will be the beneficiaries of many of the changes which will take place and should take some of the responsibility for their success or failure."

Malcolm Sillars:

"Some members had specific research proposals but only hinted at them because the panel began at the point of agreeing 'research doesn't get you anywhere, we need action.' The group never tried to formulate research proposals because of the split in the group over the fundamental question of the validity of research (a strange position indeed for a group at a research conference).

Anyone who accepted either of the two premise statements about campus disruptions would be in for trouble. I see our positions as a continuum from statement 1 to statement 2 rather than a polarity.

I believe there is a misunderstanding of the criticism of the action priorit
He was reacting to our limited mention of research which dealt with the nature of the power structure. I'm sure he was negative about our action orientation too but he was talking about our limited mention of research. In any event, his statement relates more to the point on studying the formal and informal power structures on campus.

In one sense the proposal to make students equal partners in all decision making on the campus is in keeping with the Cox Commission Report, in another it is a radicalization of it so as to make it quite different. 'Equal partners' is not necessarily the same as 'meaningful influence.' The worst part of the action proposal was not in the acceptance of the idea of student involvement in decision making but the untested assumption that a specific solution, 'equal partnership in voice and vote,' was *the* answer."

Workshop B--Participants

Robert S. Cathcart (Workshop Chairman). Chairman of Department of Communication at Queens College of City University of New York. B.A. and M.A. University of Redlands (1944 and 1947). Ph.D. Northwestern University (1953). Previously taught at Purdue University and California State College. Published articles include "An Experiment Study of the Relative Effectiveness of Four Methods of Presenting Evidence," "The Predictions of Gains in Mean Performance in Various Measures of Communication Skills Relative to Type of Curriculum Pursued," and "A Comparison of Student Achievement i an Integrated Communication Skills Course with Achievement in Separate English and

Speech Courses." Co-author, with J. Dahl, M. Laser and F. Marcus, of Student, School and Society: Crosscurrents in Secondary Education (Chandler, 1964) and author of Post Communication: Critical Analysis and Evaluation (Bobbs Merrill, 1960 Current research includes "A Study of the Implications of Linguistic Philosophy for Rhetorical Theory" and " A Study of the Speech Making of President Richard M. Nixon.

Donn F. Bailey. Instructor and Ph.D. Candidate at Pennsylvania State University. B.S. Indiana University (1954). M.A. Indiana University (1962). Work experience includes speech therapist, Division of Speech Correction, Chicago Board (1954-66), Supervisor of Speech, Project Headstart, South Area, Chicago Board of Education (1966), and a member of the Core Faculty of the Institute for Administrative Leadership in School Desegregation and Equal Educational Opportunity (1966-68). Currently Faculty Advisor for the Douglass Association, a member of the Liberal Arts Committee for the Culturally Disadvantaged, and a member of the Faculty Committee for the Development of a Course in Racism. Proposed Ph.D. Dissertation: "Power and Resiliency of the Black Psyche: A Function of Words and Paralanguage." Articles and lectures include "The Black Mystique," "Afro-American Speech: A Legitimate Language System," "Separatism: A Route Toward Self-Actualizing Group Behavior," and "The Act of Defining: White Use and White Abuse." Research in progress includes an "Investigation of the Similarities between Eastern African Languages (Hausa and Ibo) and Languages of Western Africa" and "Preparation of Mechanisms to Ascertain Africanisms in Black English."

Helen H. Franzwa. Assistant Professor of Speech at Hunter College of the City University of New York. A.B. University of California at Berkeley (1961). M.A. San Diego State College (1963). Ph.D. University of Illinois (1967). Member of the Black and Puerto Rican Studies Committee, a student-faculty committee charged with developing a Department of Black and Puerto Ricna Studies (Spring, 1969). Published articles include "The Use of Evaluative-Dynamic Language in Persuasion."

Charles G. Hurst, Jr. President of Malcolm X University. B.S., M.A., and Ph.D. Wayne State University (1953, 1958, 1961). Previously Director of Communication Sciences Research Center, Head of Department of Speech, and Associate Dean of Liberal Arts at Howard University. Experience includes consultant to Job Corps, the Boards of Education in Berkeley, California and Gainesville, Florida, and to the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Member of the National Advisory Committee of the National Committee for Children and Youth and of the Advisory Council of the National Institutes of Health. Papers presented and articles published include "Problems of Racial Conflict and Student Hostilities in Recently Integrated Schools in a Northern Community," "Preparing for Successful Integration of Schools in a Segregated Community," "Barriers to Communication in a Southern Educational System," and "Social and Psychological Characteristics of Negro College Students."

Philip K. Tompkins. Professor at Kent State University. A.B. Colorado State College (1956). M.A. University of Nebraska (1957). Ph.D. Purdue University (1962). Previously taught at University of Kansas and Wayne State University. Articles published and papers presented include "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Credibility on the Comprehension of Content," "Organizational Communication: A State-of-the-Art Review," "The Rhetoric of James Joyce," and "The Role of the Faculty and Administration: 'The Professor as Mr. Charlie.'"

Report of Workshop C -- Community Relations

Richard Gregg, Pennsylvania State University

"What priorities in research and action should SAA promote as an Association and as individual members in seeking to develop professional expertise useful to community relations and community action programs?"

The committee recognized from the beginning that the topic area was both broad and ambiguous. Problems of community relations run the gamut from attempts by a public school to communicate with parents through P. T. A. programming, to the complexity of difficulties which may arise when several racially mixed neighborhoods interact with regard to civic affairs. Community action programs also exist in considerable variety, ranging from specific work projects to broad confrontation and protest activities demanding sweeping social change. Therefore, the committee decided to work within the confines of a limited, but specific focus.

We start with a basic assumption: The underlying concern of the research conference was the realization that there are certain imbalances in our society that need to be redressed, and the Speech Association of America, as a professional organization, must seek its role in the correction of those imbalances.

(a) On the national level imbalances have been recognized and discussed in the Kerner Commission Report, the Walker Report, the Skolnick Report, and others.

(b) Professionally, they have been recognized and discussed by the Speech Association of America's Committee on Social Relevance.

(c) Personally, they are acknowledged by every member of the Community Relations and Community Action workshop.

The focus for our discussion came from: (a) The realization that we must be concerned with racist attitudes in the white community which need to be recognized and altered, and that speech-communication will play an integral role in that process. We do not mean to say that poor speech-communication, or barriers to effective speech-communication have always been one of the primary causes of racial tension. Nor do we mean to imply that speech-communication can always contribute to the solution of racial problems and the modification of the perceptions of white racists. But, recognizing the influence speech in particular, and communication in general has in the lives of men and societies, the committee believes speech-communication is often involved in the tensions evoked by white racist attitudes, and that effective uses of speech may, in some situations, be able to reduce tensions and alter racist attitudes.

(b) The realization that the traditional premises and practices of speech-communication, based on such values as "decorum, civility and reason," may not always be effective in achieving a reduction of white racist attitudes or a reduction in the institutional effects of racism. In our contemporary society, the speech profession ought to lead in the process of examining, analyzing, and questioning the assumptions we have held for so long concerning the nature of effective communication.

With all of this in mind, the committee unanimously recommends the following:

1. The Speech Association of America should encourage basic research which attempts to determine the influence of speech-communication on the development and maintenance of self-concept. The committee believes that an accepting and supportive self-concept is necessary for the emergence of trust and openness toward others. We suspect that crippled and distorted ego development will be found at the core of white racist attitudes which lead to the intentional or unintentional attempt to demean and suppress those persons with different attitudes and skin color. We believe that language development plays a vital role in the shaping of a person's self-concept, but feel the urgent need for more research in this area. Therefore we propose that the Speech Association of America initiate and support, both with encouragement and money, basic research on the specific role of speech in the development and maintenance of self-concept. It is logical to begin this research by focusing on infants, and we think it likely that any action proposals emerging from such research will be directed toward children.

Our second proposal consists of research and action recommendations aimed at the amelioration of attitudes of white racism.

2. We propose that the Speech Association of America sponsor and conduct speech training laboratories concerned with sensitizing individuals to the influences of speech-communication in their lives, and that such training programs be independent of any institution of higher learning. To implement the proposal, we suggest that SAA: (a) Fund a team of researchers to survey and analyze current strategies and tactics of encounter, sensitivity, and small group interaction situations which might be useful in a speech-communication laboratory designed to ameliorate attitudes of white racism. (b) Establish pilot programs, handled by experienced speech trainers, and involving the observation and participation of potential trainers, which would explore and evaluate the most effective uses and modifications of existing techniques to help ameliorate white racist attitudes. (c) Write a manual, develop a program and promote the final product, speech-communication training laboratories which would be made available to those groups in society who wish to make use of them.

If we discover a dearth of trainers for the initial phases of the program in the speech profession, we propose that SAA begin immediately to encourage members, with financial support if necessary, to enter training programs outside the profession.

Our third set of proposals is based on the following observations: (a) We recognize that there are situations in which traditional speech-communication behaviors, based on "reason, civility and decorum" have and will continue to suffer severe limitations with regard to effectiveness in redressing improper balances of freedom, initiative and power which exist in contemporary society. (b) We recognize that there are communication tactics and strategies currently being employed which are not traditional, which must be understood and considered by those of us interested in the broad area of communication. (c) We recognize that those groups which agitate, protest and confront do have legitimate claims which demand the attention of society. Therefore, we propose:

3. That the Speech Association of America adequately fund a team of researchers to study confrontation situations and inventory groups and individuals who have been involved in confrontation situations, with a view toward discovering the effects of the following variables:

(a) The impact of various kinds of communication on "power-vulnerables" and "power-invulnerables." (Power-vulnerables are defined as "elected and appointed government officials who may be removed from office or given an unfavorable press; church and university leaders who are obliged to apply 'high-minded' standards in dealing with protests; executives of large corporations whose businesses are susceptible to loss of income and who are publicly committed to an ethic of social responsibility. 'Power-invulnerables' are those who have little or nothing to lose by publicly voicing their prejudices and acting on their self-concerns.") The committee is indebted to Professor Herbert Simons, "Requirements, Problems and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion In Social Movements," Unpublished paper, pp. 12-13 for this formulation. For a more complete discussion, see Herbert W. Simons, "Patterns of Persuasion in the Civil Rights Struggle," Today's Speech, XV (February, 1967), 25-27. (b) Who confronts whom, and with what effect? (c) When do they confront, and with what effect? (d) Where does the confrontation take place, and with what effect? (e) What are the differences in effect between a confrontation situation which arises suddenly and spontaneously, and one which occurs with some forewarning after an extended build-up of tension? (f) What is the effect of third parties (who might be trying to mediate, or reinforce the positions of one of the parties directly involved, or are caught in the middle of the situation) in a confrontation event?

There are undoubtedly other variables to be discovered as the research team gathers its data; the above listing is intended only to be suggestive.

The outcome of this research should produce: (a) A description of the speech-communication dimensions of militant social protest. (b) A manual on the art of agitation. (Manuals and textbooks in speech have dealt traditionally with "reasonable" discourse. Assuming, however, that reasonable discourse may not always be effective, it is time the speech profession addressed itself to communication modes of confrontation and agitation and a description of those situations in which they will be most useful.)

There are individuals in the field of speech who have specical competencies in terms of analyzing and understanding the communication aspects of confrontation situations.

4. We propose that the Speech Association of America encourage their involvement in such situations on three levels: (a) As analysis experts, persons who could answer such questions as "Why won't the other side listen?" "Where did our strategy fail?" after confrontation has occurred. (b) Serving a consultant capacity, persons who might help groups determine the role speech-communication might play in the achievement of their goals, "Whom should we communicate with?," "What shall our timing and strategy be?," "When should we begin to apply pressure?"-before confrontation occurs; (c) As descriptive reporters, serving to verify and/or counteract the reportage of the parties involved and the press, and serving as a task force to gather information on confrontation situations to be sent to the national office to accumulate a storehouse of data on the rhetoric of agitation.

The committee realized in its discussion that the injudicious gathering and dissemination of data could prove to be very harmful. The committee is adamantly against the gathering of such information as the identification of individuals or groups, or confidential information which might be used to harass or prosecute parties involved in confrontation situations. Rather, we are interested in determining such things as descriptions of the uses of channels of communication in confrontation activity, the nature of the groups involved, the reasons for communications breakdown, the reasons why communication is not useful in some cases, the nature of the community where confrontation takes place, etc.

We believe that the information gathered should be made available to communities, and at the same time we recognize the possibility that some groups might use the information to further repressive actions. There is no easy solution to this problem, but the committee urges the Speech Association of America to refrain from supporting repressive factions.

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Workshop C--Participants

Richard B. Gregg (Workshop Chairman). Associate Professor of Speech at Pennsylvania State University. B.A. University of Wichita (1959). M.A. University of Pittsburgh (1961). Ph.D. University of Pittsburgh (1963). Instructor and consultant for past three years in Penn State's NDEA Title III Oral Communication Workshop for elementary and secondary teachers. Taught a ten week course in Oral Communication for a black community action group in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (1968). Adviser to "The Shelter," an experiment in off-campus community living for students (1968-69). Articles published (some co-authored) include "A Phenomenological Approach to Rhetorical Criticism," "Whitey Goes to the Ghetto: A Personal Chronicle of a Communication Experience with Black Youth," and "The Rhetoric of Black Power: A Street Level Interpretation." Co-author, with George A. Borden and Theodore G. Grove, of *Speech Behavior and Human Interaction* (Prentice-Hall, 1969). Present research includes "Analysis of the 1966 Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings on Viet Nam" and "Analysis of Pacifist Rhetoric--1900 to the Present."

William E. Arnold. Assistant Professor of Speech at Case Western Reserve University. B.S. Ed. and M.A. Northern Illinois University (1962 and 1963). Ph.D. Pennsylvania State University (1966). Consultant to Community Mental Health Project (1968-69), City of Cleveland Civil Service Commission (1968-69), City of Cleveland Police Department (1968-69), and to Project Bridge, a research project to change racial attitudes (1969). Current research concerns campus demonstrations and student versus police attitude toward each other on the campus of Case Western Reserve University.

Frank E. X. Dance. Professor of Communication and Director of the Speech Communication Center at the University of Wisconsin--Milwaukee. B.S. Fordham University (1951). M.A. and Ph.D. Northwestern University (1953 and 1959). Served as consultant or lecturer on communication to the United States Peace Corps, VISTA, American Motors, Equitable Life, the Associated Credit Bureaus, and other business and professional organizations. Past president of the National Society for the Study of Communication. Past editor of The Journal of Communication and editor of The Speech Teacher. Publications include Human Communication Theory (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967).

Robert B. Hawkins. Associate Professor of Speech at Southern Illinois University. A.B. and M.A. University of Michigan (1949 and 1952). Ph.D. Northwestern University (1961). Has worked during the past two years with a project on "Training of Lay Leaders for Study Groups in Parent-Child Relations." Developed a Campus Dialogue Program at Southern Illinois University in Edwardsville to provide an outlet for black/white tensions. Is working this summer on an experimental project at the Illinois State Youth Commission Camp for delinquent boys near Grafton, Illinois and developing a Community Peace Corps Project to train student tutors who work in impoverished areas in East St. Louis.

John H. Lawton. Professor and Chairman of the Speech Communication and Theatre Department at Boston College. B.A. Emerson College (1937). M.A. Boston College (1940). Ph.D. State University of Iowa (1957). Member of N.A.A.C.P., S.C.L.C., Urban League, and Peace Fellowship. Speech Communication Consultant to the Massachusetts Labor Research Center and Faculty Director of the Boston College Student Speakers Program. The Student Speakers Program has brought symposia and discussions on controversial issues to 200 community organizations in all the major cities of the New England States. Founder and Faculty Director of "Alternative," a program which includes three teams of student speakers who attack white racism before white-dominated high school audiences in many American cities.

Herbert W. Simons. Associate Professor of Speech at Temple University. B.A. University of Vermont (1956). M.S. and Ph.D. Purdue University (1958 and 1961). Taught various courses and workshops in oral communications for government and business. Co-founder and faculty advisor to "Conscience," a community action organization which runs an educational day camp for black children each summer. Chairman of Conference on Confrontation and Participation and university mediator in campus confrontations at Temple University. Current publications include "Persuasion in Social Movements," "Confrontation in University Settings," "Patterns of Persuasion in the Civil Rights Struggle," and "The Paradox of Paternalism: Student Problems and University Practices."

Report of Workshop D -- Speech Education for the Disadvantaged

Jesse Villarreal, University of Texas

Original question: "What priorities in research and action should SAA promote as an Association and as individual members in the area of speech education for the disadvantaged?"

Question as rephrased by group: "What priorities in research and action should SAA promote in the area of speech-communication behavior of minority groups identifiable within the total community?"

I suppose that everybody who went to the play last night got at least one line that reminded him of his groups. Mine was: "How come you've been at it two hours and haven't gone whole hog yet?" The short version of our report is that we spent 20 minutes deciding there was no such thing as disadvantaged and the rest of the day arguing about what we ought to do about it. We reformulated our charge in this language: "What priorities in research and action should SAA promote in the area of speech-communication behavior of minority groups identifiable within the total community? The intent of this rephrasing with its deliberate avoidance of terms like "improvement," "acceptable," "substandard," "disadvantaged," and the like is to establish the posture that permits the impartial and objective accumulation of information about the speech-communication behavior of minority groups and leaves open for discussion and research questions about kinds of intervention that are desirable, by whom they are desirable, and by whom they are best carried out.

As an introductory statement of rationale, we had three statements:

1. Distinctive features in speech-communication patterns of minority groups constitute differences rather than deficits. For example, instead of seeking ways of changing the patterns of speech of a minority speaker, it is probably more relevant to seek ways of changing the attitudes of teachers about patterns of speech different from their own.

2. Those who conduct research in the speech-communication behavior of minority groups and those who teach those groups need involvement and dialect experience in the daily life of the groups they seek to research and teach.

3. Present classroom instruction of goals and materials for dealing with the speech-communication needs of minority speakers are frequently inadequate and inappropriate and lag behind what is already known in this area. This is only one case, dramatic because it occurs in an especially sensitive area of a general lag in speech-communication instruction at all levels and with all segments of the population. SAA should provide leadership for curriculum revision and teacher training in speech education comparable to what has already been achieved in the areas of mathematics and science education.

In the section of recommended action, our group recommended these:

1. It is recommended that one or more conferences be held to pursue further the subject of speech-communication patterns of minority groups. The conferences should be two or three days in length and should include as participants those who teach speech-communication skills to minority groups and the community leaders of these groups. The intent is to make it more likely that available information is delivered directly to those who can make effective use of it.

2. It is recommended that SAA, through its national office, its officers, and its journals, accelerate its efforts to encourage scholarly publications dealing with speech-communication patterns of minority groups. The Association must recognize that it cannot be concerned only with the traditional forms of speech communication and the already established subdivisions of its subject matter.

3. It is recommended that the SAA Research Board consider the development of a questionnaire capable of describing the attitudes of its own membership, not the Research Board, but SAA, toward the related topics of acceptable speech and acceptable patterns of communication: how they can be recognized, who speak them, and how they can be taught.

In the section of priorities in research, we had these suggestions:

1. Investigation of the validity of reasons advanced for making accessible to members of minority groups patterns of speech other than those they learn in the home. For example, in the area of employability, does acquisition of bidialectical skills in fact substantially affect the employability or unemployability of the members of minority groups? In the area of social acceptability, does acquisition of bidialectical skills in fact make the members of a minority group more acceptable to members of other groups or to members of his own group? In the area of education, is the acquisition of bidialectical skills justifiable as a necessary condition for overcoming academic retardation?

2. Intensive studies of cultural divergence and especially of differences in speech-communication behavior. Better descriptions are needed of the patterns of communication the minority speaker employs and when and where they are employed. Patterns of communication include not only grammatical dimensions but paralinguistic kinesic, and semantic dimensions as well, and a great many others. Are there speech communication behavior universals that apply to all minority groups? What are the respects in which particular minority groups, as Texans, for example, are different from all others in their communication characteristics and needs? What is the significance of differences that involve differences between languages as compared with differences between dialects?

3. The aspirations of minority groups and the relevance, if any, of communicative patterns to them.

4. Attitude studies to identify the reactions of one group to the speech-communication behavior of other groups.

5. Sociolinguistic factors in language learning such as how, when, where, and why does a child learn language and how does he establish the style and patterns of his minority group? How relevant are such factors as loyalty to the group itself? In terms of instructional materials and procedures, how can the teacher make use of this information? What are the perceptual problems in intercultural speech-communication behavior? What are the linguistic indices of class differences within the various minority groups?

6. In what settings does the bidialectical minority speaker use his own minority language?

7. What are the effects of efforts to modify speech-communication behavior upon the minority speaker's sense of self-worth? Are some instructional procedures more preferable than others in this respect?

8. What are the relevant verbal variables in person perception which contribute to attitude formation about perceived individuals?

The following comments were made by members of the workshop group during the discussion which followed the report:

Grace Holt:

"I feel that perhaps it might help to clarify one of the issues relative to attitudinal studies and perhaps it needs to be more clearly stated. There needs to be a very emphatic statement of research in the area of methods used by teachers in the teaching of speech and language which destroy children's self-concept and the converse is also true. There needs to be research in teaching methods that would augment and enhance the chidren's self-worth.

"There was something else that came up that I would like to project. I feel very strongly, and I don't know that this was the consensus of the group, but in today's climate I think one has to be very careful when you start talking about or considering research in minority group communities. For that reason, I would like it to be clearly understood that any research done in any minority communities should be done only with the consent of the people in those communities.

Orlando Taylor:

"In response to a point raised by the gentleman in the rear of the room, I took it to mean that a large portion of what we tried to say in that report seemed rather general and reflects a kind of a point of view. Really that is a very important thing which also should be underlined. Some of us are concerned that we are here in Minneapolis, Minnesota thinking about research projects and not perhaps thinking about the point of view or raising questions as to why we ought to be concerned. We're concerned about the bandwagon effect, and this is a hip thing to do, and this is the way to be in, to go out to the black community or Indian-American communities in this country and do supposedly relevant research. We take the position that this research ought to be relevant to those persons who live in those communities and that it ought to reflect an attitude which recognizes the legitimacy of both the culture and the language of various groups in this country. We think this is an important first step, not methodologies, not typical designs, not being on bandwagons. That really is the most important thing we have to say."

Theodore Hopf:

"One thing I think that we need to push a little bit is that we're a little bit concerned, in fact very concerned, about dialogue where we're not just isolated in the academic community but, in terms of publication, in getting data from teachers who are on the line doing things out to people who are in need of it, including those of us in the ivory tower."

Workshop D--Participants

Jesse Villarreal (Workshop Chairman). Professor of Speech and Education at University of Texas. B.A. and M.A. University of Texas (1935 and 1937). Ph.D. Northwestern University (1947). Previous experience includes Board of Directors of Austin Cerebral Palsy Center and Texas Society for Crippled Children, Consultant to Texas State Department of Health, Consultant to International Office of University of Texas on projects for the improvement of the teaching of English as a second language in Cairo, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and for Peace Corps Programs in Brazil, Iran, and Afghanistan. Articles published and papers presented include "Psychotherapeutic Components in the Treatment of Stuttering," "Clinical Uses of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities," "Short Cuts in Teaching English as a Second Language," and "A Test of the Aural Comprehension of English for Native Speakers of Spanish." Co-author, with Ora Bennett, of Corrective Facilities for Speech and Hearing Disorders in Texas (Hogg Foundation, 1958).

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Report of Workshop E -- Language and Speech Acquisition and Development

Barbara S. Wood, University of Illinois--Chicago Circle

"What priorities in research and action should SAA promote, as an Association and as individual members, with respect to language and speech acquisition and development among children?"

Assumptions

Our committee shares the conviction that the study of the child's language and speech development is of primary importance. There are few competent scholars in the field of speech, however, who are actively engaged in research and action within this subject area. Our committee agreed that the field of speech-communication would grow considerably as a result of emphasizing this area of study. We propose nine research and action recommendations, priorities 1-9.

Priority #1

We recommend that our committee be established as a permanent body of SAA, possibly in the form of an ad hoc committee. Members could be added as the Association and present committee wish. Among its functions would be meeting with both the Educational Policies Board and the Research Board in order to help implement the following eight priorities and handle related business.

Priority #2: Part I

SAA should actively promote and/or finance postdoctoral work and further training with speech-communication faculty interested in becoming more competent in the instruction and research related to language and speech acquisition and development in children. The Association and its administrative boards could aid in the selection of SAA members for this further training. We include this recommendation early in the list because the successful implementation of the remaining priorities depends upon a competent group of speech-communication scholars, actively engaged in instruction and research in speech and language development in children. SAA might sponsor teacher-training workshops during the national conventions. Further, SAA might promote or finance postdoctoral training of selected SAA members through programs such as the following: a) Tri-University Project in English (Nebraska); b) postdoctoral programs with universities which are equipped with faculty competent in the area of child language and speech development; and c) postdoctoral training sponsored by NIH and other such government foundations. In short, our first objective is to expand the group of speech-communication people interested in speech and language development.

Priority #2: Part II

We recommend that undergraduate programs in speech-communication introduce the student to the study of language and speech development in children. We agree that curriculum revision must begin on the undergraduate level if we are to affect scholarship in the field of speech-communication--i.e., we must interest competent students as early as possible in their college education. Revision could be sought on four levels of instruction:

1. Introductory courses in speech-communication might introduce the subject of "speech-communication development in children." The subject could easily be introduced in existing courses on many campuses (e.g., psychology of speech, speech and human behavior, theories of speech-communication, introduction to speech-communication, etc.). Further, if an undergraduate curriculum contains a speech course for persons preparing to teach in the elementary schools, then this course must include the subject of language and speech development in children as a major topic of study. The elementary teacher must be aware of the extensive research and theory pertaining to speech and language acquisition and development. If such a course does exist within the speech department then it should stress more recent research and theory and not rely upon current textbook treatment which is usually inadequate. It is of primary importance that the elementary school teacher understands as much developmental theory as possible; the understanding of speech-communication development in children is crucial if the teacher is to be well-trained for instruction, in general, and for instruction in the language arts, in particular.

2. Our committee urges all speech-communication undergraduate programs to develop at least two courses related to speech and language development in children:

   A. "Theories of Speech-Communication Development in Children." This course could include the study of speech and language development, emphasizing theorists sych as Vygotsky, Piaget, Luria, R. Brown, and E. Lenneberg. The course might adopt the text of readings edited by E. Lenneberg, New Directions in the Study of Language (MIT Press, 1966), and a book of readings edited by S. Rosenberg and J. Koplin, Developments in Applied Psycholinguistics (Macmillan, 1968). The course would involve study of major theoretical work pertaining to the nature and functions of speech and language in children.

   B. "Speech and Language Development in Children." This course would focus upon the recent work in developmental psycholinguistics which attempts to characterize the child's development of speech and language through several stages of acquisition. The course would include the study of McNeill, Menyuk, Slobin, R. Brown, Bullowa, and Bellugi, for example. Readings could be taken from the following sources: The Acquisition of Language (Eds. U. Bellugi and R. Brown), Society for Research in Child Development, 1964; The Genesis of Language (Eds. F. Smith and G. Miller), MIT Press, 1966; and Sentences Children Use, Paula Menyuk, MIT Press, 1969.

3. Next, our committee stressed the importance of courses in research methodology for the undergraduate student--courses in speech-communication statistics and speech-communication design. A portion of the design course could be devoted to special problems connected with data gathering among children as subjects of research. The course in speech-communication statistics might adopt Fred Williams' text, Reasoning with Statistics: Simplified Examples in Communications Research. The speech-communication design course could consider the Campbell and Stanley text, Experimental and Quasi-experimental Research in Education. This recommendation is consistent with the suggestions outlined in Conceptual

Frontiers in Speech-Communication, the report of the 1968 New Orleans Conference.

4. We also urge speech departments to encourage their undergraduates interested in speech-communication development in children to take related courses. Valuable course work outside the speech department could be gained from linguistics, child development theory, learning theory, etc. This necessitates a certain amount of flexibility on the part of the undergraduate curriculum for the speech major.

Priority #2: Part III

If colleges and universities have graduate programs in speech (or if these programs are currently being planned) the programs should involve enough flexibility so that a graduate student could pursue study of speech-communication development in children. An interdisciplinary approach seems most feasible but our committee urges graduate programs in speech to contain a battery of courses related to the subject. Consideration must be given to methods necessary to the study of language and speech development in children. Original research should be encouraged.

*Priorities 3-7 involve research recommendations. Although they are general in focus, they do present substantial research areas which our committee feels "belong to the field of speech-communication." Further refinement and revision of the research priorities could be handled in another conference headed by the "ad hoc committee," if this committee is formed by SAA and agrees to plan such a conference. The overlapping nature of priorities 3-7 will be fairly obvious. We did not intend to present these research areas as separate and distinct ones; instead, we agreed that there was a great deal of interdependence, not independence.

Priority #3

In our committee discussion of the parameters of speech and language development, with respect to research priorities for the Association, we were somewhat divided on an issue. First, we defined two areas of basic research:

A. The child acquires and develops, in a very short period of time (2-3 years), certain skills involving linguistic competence or language competence. This competence includes the acquisition and development of phonological, semantic and syntactic rules of a language. Research into the child's linguistic development is crucial to the understanding of the child's development of communication.

B. In addition to the acquisition of linguistic rules, the child develops extra-linguistic skills which are essential to his ability to communicate. These skills involve paralinguistic (e.g., development of intonation patterns, facial and vocal expression of emotion, etc.), kinesic (e.g., gestural), and proxemic (e.g., spacial relations in communication) codes. Development of the foregoing codes seems closely related to speech-communication development.

The committee was in disagreement as to which of the two research priorities should be stressed, A or B. The rationale for stressing A (linguistic development) was the following: Since the basis of the child's communication system rests upon the rules of language which the child follows, research along these lines should be stressed. Before research can be directed toward the study of extra-linguistic variables, which are logically tied to linguistic variables, a thorough understanding must be gained about the child's development of linguistic patterns. The rationale for stressing B is as follows: Research into the linguistic competence of the child, while of prime importance in the study of the child's communication, is receiving extensive treatment from other disciplines (e.g., psychology). Although we agree that the study of linguistic development is important, we should concentrate our research efforts toward the understanding of the "speech" variables on both verbal and non-verbal levels. Speech-communication research might stress the more "vocal" aspects of communication development while the more "verbal" aspects should receive secondary treatment. Finally, there has been little research into the extra-linguistic variables related to speech and language development, and it is within this research area that SAA members can make a substantial contribution to the study of the child's communication development. See Bibliography A (Part I) for literature suggestive of the research related to priority #3A; see Bibliography A (Part II) for literature related to Priority 3B. Recommendation 3B represents the majority report for priority #3; recommendation 3A represents the minority report for priority #3.

Priority #4

Current researchers in the field of language enjoy employing the term linguistic competence when characterizing all the linguistic knowledge held by any speaker. While this term has value in terms of a theoretical approach to studying linguistic performance in the real world (e.g., how a speaker actually applies this linguistic knowledge in performance), the term does not seem to cover all of the knowledge underlying performance. Another part of what the child learns is when and in what manner can he apply linguistic rules to concrete communication situations. Such behavior, while involving communication strategies, appears also to be rule-governed, just as linguistic behavior is rule-governed. See Goffman (Behavior in Public Places) for examples. We could employ the term pragmatic competence to this research priority. Such research might be directed toward linguistic strategies or taboos--toward the situational variables affecting language and speech performance in children. For example, the child's development of his ability to "question" has both linguistic and pragmatic consequences. How can we characterize the pragmatic aspects of "questioning"? In short, a child's communicative competence would necessarily include more than simply his linguistic knowledge; it would include skills on the paralinguistic level and pragmatic level, as well. Note selected references in Bibliography B.

Priority #5

In young children, speech is the primary, if not the only medium, through which language competence can be directly observed. The question can be raised: does oral speech play a significant role in the regulation of the child's behavior? In short, what are the effects of the child's speech on the child? Such speech behavior has been termed "egocentric" by Piaget, "self-regulatory" by Luria, and "private" by Flavell. The general area of research could be defined as "the effects of speech on task performance in young children." The main hypothesis examined in most of this research is that there is a stage in child development wherein overt self-instructions (saying "go" and squeezing a response bulb, for example) significantly improve the child's ability to perform certain tasks, when compared with silent performance. This research area has many implications for teaching strategies in the elementary schools. If it can be demonstrated that young children perform certain tasks more stably if they vocalize, and the common elements among these tasks can be identified, then perhaps a learning theory based on speech can be formulated; the young child's speech can be used in the classroom to produce more efficient learning. This is a big leap based on our present knowledge, however. Note references in Bibliography C which are related to this research priority.

Priority #6

Much of the research which has been conducted in the U.S. on child language has assumed, and probably quite appropriately, that the mother is the major source of input to the child's acquisition of his mother tongue. Even if we argue that the child comes equipped--"pre-programed" as it were--with an elaborate language acquisition device (see the work stemming from E. Lenneberg's "innate component" hypothesis), that device still requires speech input of a specific language in order to arrive at the rules underlying that language. According to Dan Slobin, who is actively engaged in "input" research, linguistics researchers have paid little attention to the nature of the linguistic input which the child receives. Pscholinguists working with Roger Brown (Harvard) have begun to investigate this sort of question by studying mother-child interaction. Results have been surprising in that the isolated American middle-class home, in which mother spends long stretches of time with her children, may be a relatively rare social situation in the world. Extensive research is needed in the area of language and speech interaction of the child--interaction with mother, peer groups, siblings, etc. In fact, research has pointed out that, for some children, peer group interaction appears to be far more crucial to the child's linguistic development. Further, studies with the so-called "disadvantaged" child illustrate that grandmother-child interaction may be most influential upon the child's language learning. These types of variables need extensive research (call them input variables): they include interaction patterns, types of input language data, etc. This priority would also involve cross-cultural work. See Bibliography D for examples of research and theory.

Priority #7

Givem that the child acquires language and speech according to a developmental schedule, but allowing for flexibility in that schedule, what can we do in the elementary schools to facilitate the development of language and speech? What educational materials and procedures will best nurture the child's development of language and speech? Although this recommendation involves research along instructional lines, including curriculum re-analysis, it begins to become more of an educational priority. Once we begin to discover how a child acqaires certain linguistic structures, for example, then the question remains: can the schools aid in the child's development of these structures? If so, how can the child be helped under school conditions? This priority seems most crucial, yet it cannot receive satisfactory attention until more extensive research into the child's speech and language development (contained in our priorities #3-#6) is conducted. Further insight into this priority can be gained from the following: Barbara S. Wood, "Implication of Psycholinguistics for Elementary Speech Programs," Speech Teacher, September, 1968, 184-192.

Priority #8

We propose that SAA, in conjuction with the Educational Policies Board or the Ad Hoc Committee on Speech-Communication Development in Children (if it comes to be), develop and disseminate information to elementary teachers and interested professionals of SAA. This information could include any of the following types of materials: information regarding re-training institutes for teachers, materials for in-service training programs, crucial reprints or publications of a research nature, key theoretical materials (articles, bibliographies, etc.) on language and speech development, etc. If SAA and its key committees and boards could delegate this function in some way, teachers and speech-communication scholars would be more aware of the current ideas and innovative methods bearing a relationship to the child's early language and speech-training.

Priority #9

We wish to encourage SAA to finance and/or promote the publication of two texts which are in great demand at the present time. The first is needed for the elementary school teacher: language and speech development in children--theory and methods for the elementary school teacher. The second text would involve a book or readings (well edited) for the undergraduate student: speech-communication development in children. Our committee discussed the notion that such texts might be in the formulation stage now, yet we agreed that SAA might actively investigate these possibilities and act according to the findings. If SAA decides that such texts should be published, possibly by the Association, members of the present committee would be interested in editing these volumes. Wood and DeVito have already expressed such an interest.

The following bibliographies are illustrative of the research and theory related to priorities #3-#6. The materials are in no way complete; instead, the references should serve as a starting point for those interested in pursuing the area of research.

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Report of Workshop F -- Field Studies

Thomas Pace, Southern Illinois University

"Develop examples of research methods and designs which can be used to yield reliable and valid results from field studies of human symbolic interaction."

The task of "developing examples of research methods which can be used to yield reliable and valid results from field studies of human symbolic interaction" focused the discussion of the workshop panel on specific problem areas-where field research might be applicable and on the general methodological concerns of field research.

The workshop panel distinguished between laboratory research and field research largely on the basis of the amount of intentional control which the researcher exercises over the variables under study. In laboratory research the experimentalist seeks to control or manipulate all known sources of variance, whereas the field researcher does not intentionally control or manipulate variables, but rather, observes variables and their interactions in natural settings. This distinction precluded from consideration of the panel the field experiment in which the researcher manipulates a variable or variables, but does so in a natural setting. This type of research was excluded because of time considerations and because of the methodological similarity between field and laboratory experiments. This does not imply that the field experiment is unworthy of careful consideration. In fact, the panel agreed that this type of research holds much potential for speech-communication.

The panel focused its attention on two types of field research: the natural experiment and the field study. The natural experiment was defined as a study in which the researcher specifies in advance the variables he wishes to observe, states hypotheses concerning the relationships among these variables and, without manipulation, measures their interactions in a natural setting. This type of research usually involves quantification.

The field study, on the other hand, is usually conducted under conditions which do not allow for predefinition of variables and hypothesis testing. Moreover, definition of variables, hypotheses generation, data collection and hypothesis testing may be carried on more or less simultaneously during each stage of the project. The field study seeks analytic descriptions of complex human symbolic interaction in natural situations with direct observation, participant observation, interviewing and artifact analysis as commonly employed methods of data collection. The field study may or may not involve quantification.

The workshop panel felt that field research with its emphasis upon the dynamics of a given situation would facilitate "model" construction. In fact, the versatility of several rather well established data-gathering techniques would lead to the development of viable communication theory while, at the same time, gaining information potentially capable of resolving crisis or promoting coalition in tension situations.

The recommendations from the workshop panel were of two types: (1) recommendations for research design that would maximize the quality of the research product and (2) recommendations regarding the early implementation of field research in speech-communication.

I. Recommendations for field research designs which would maximize the quality of the research product.

   A. Exploratory phases of field research in speech-communication should be initiated in order to begin to establish from field experience more rigorously controlled research.

   B. Since field research is essentially new to speech-communication, intensive study should be initiated into the creation of methodological designs, both quantitative and nonquantitative, which are applicable to the task of handling data within the framework of limited controls. Field researchers should study carefully methodological suggestions found in the allied disciplines of anthropology, social psychology, sociology, marketing research, etc., and apply them to the investigation of communicative activities. In general, there should be an expansion of what is regarded as relevant data and data-collection techniques in speech-communication.

      1. Data-gathering instruments such as the semantic differential, attitude tests, etc., should be utilized as long as they are relevant to the particular field research situation.

      2. Field study techniques including direct observation, participant observation and interviews should be instituted for data collection in certain communicative situations.

      3. Artifacts such as films, speeches, fiction, correspondence, advertising, etc., should be analyzed as potential indicators of knowledge concerning communicative activities.

   C. While field research is conducted in situations where control is difficult, if not undesirable, nevertheless great care should be exercised in an attempt to avoid contamination of results. This is especially emphasized in view of the potential impact of researcher bias on data collection.

      1. The various modes of gaining access into groups or situations for data collection should be evaluated not only for their capability for gaining entrance, but for inherent liabilities which might affect data collection.

      2. The field researcher should attempt to avoid transmitting unconsciously his expectations to the respondents.

      3. The field researcher should be concerned with the effect that the bias of his role or status has on the respondents.

      4. When measurement devices are utilized, they should be as nonreactive and unobtrusive as possible.

II. Recommendations concerning the early implementation of field research throughout speech-communication.

A. Experience in field research activities should be made a part of both undergraduate and graduate work in speech-communication.

B. Graduate schools, if they have not already done so, should initiate a more liberal policy regarding the acceptability of exploratory field research as bona fide thesis and dissertation efforts.

C. Graduate programs should initiate studies which test the validity and reliability of given field devices, test specific aspects of extant theoretical models and/or generate new models which are relevant to important social concerns such as those discussed at the 1969 Summer Conference on Research and Action.

D. Field research should be made an integral part of sustained, long-term research programs designed to further elucidate particular aspects of human symbolic interaction.

E. The Speech Association of America should give top priority to field research since many of the recommendations presented by the various workshop panels dealt with problems amenable to field research.

(See supplementary material.)

Workshop F--Participants

Thomas J. Pace (Workshop Chairman). Associate Professor of Speech at Southern Illinois University. B.S. and M.A. Southwestern University (1949 and 1953). Ph.D. University of Denver (1957). Postdoctoral study in Speech and Philosophy at Northwestern University (1963-1965). Directed field studies in metropolitan Chicago area focusing on extra-institutional community action groups. Participated in field study on political communication conducted by Southern Illinois University Center for Communication Research during the Texas gubernatorial campaign (1968).

Lloyd E. Crisp. Associate Professor of Speech at San Francisco State College. B.A. and M.A. San Francisco State College (1958 and 1960). Ph.D. University of Denver (1967). Postdoctoral study at Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, Stanford Research Institute, and presently at Educational Policy Research Center. Previously taught at Humboldt State College, St. Peter's Academy in San Francisco, and Lockbourne Air Force Base. Group communications consultant to Peace Corps. Field research in "Application of the Behavioral Sciences to the Strategies of Peace," San Francisco (1963-65). Co-author, with L. Levine, of "San Francisco and Civil Rights: A Community Study" (Occasional Paper of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1965). Currently studying "Cognitive Structure Correlates of Differential Responses to Nonverbal Behaviors."

Keith R. Sanders. Assistant Professor of Speech at Southern Illinois University. B.S. and M.S. Southern Illinois University (1961 and 1962). Ph.D. University of Pittsburgh (1968). Previously taught at George Washington University. Participated in field study of campaign of the 1968 Texas Republican gubernatorial candidate. Ph.D. dissertation was an empirical study of the validity of the "paranoid style" in American politics. Primary research interests include study of interpersonal communication in political settings.

Raymond K. Tucker. Professor of Communication Theory at Bowling Green State University. B.A. University of Denver (1951). M.A. and Ph.D. Northwestern University (1954 and 1956). Postdoctoral study at Harvard University. Previously taught at Purdue University--Hammond and at Western Illinois University. Published articles include "Computer Simulations and Simulation Games" and "Evidence, Personality, and Attitude Change." Current research and writing deals with experimenter bias, computer design of experiments, and effects of experimental design on study results. Currently recipient of summer research grant to computer content analyze telephone calls to Rumor Central, Chicago, following the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dennis E. Winters. Director of Department of Communications Research at Humboldt State College. B.A. Western Montana College (1959). M.A. Montana State University (1960). Ph.D. Southern Illinois University (1969). Previous research includes "A Community-Action Group's Definition of Urban Tension: A Situational Analysis through Public Address in Chicago in 1967-68." Initiating plans at Humboldt State College for a Center for the Study of Urban-Rural Assimilation and Integration. Selected as Director of two-day convention (September, 1969) for Saskatchewan School Guidance Association to explore "The Student and the Establishment--What Are We Doing to Kids?"

Roy V. Wood. Assistant Dean and Coordinator of Graduate Studies in School of Speech at Northwestern University. Ph.D., University of Denver (1965). Consulting and teaching assignments include United States Peace Corps, University of Colorado Medical School, Colorado Department of Education, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Evanston Public Schools, and American Medical Association. Published articles and papers presented include "Studies in Self-Confrontation," "The Role of Oral Language Training in the Language Arts," "Modifying Individual and Group Behavior Through Group Methodologies," and "Solving Communication Problems in Conflict Resolution."

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Conference Resolution

(Editor's Note: Although the participants of the Summer Conference were not an officially constituted SAA group, and hence were not in a position to formulate SAA policy, those present at the closing General Session did pass, by voice vote with a dissenting minority, the following resolution which was presented by John Bystrom.)

BE IT RESOLVED that the recommendations reported here today shall be forwarded to the Executive Committee of the Administrative Council and to the SAA staff; that a list of action objectives be determined annually by the Executive Committee, and that the recommendations made here today be considered for incorporation into that list; that a priority number be assigned to each objective; that a list be prepared of precise, concrete, actions during 1970 planned by the SAA in support of these objectives; and that a report of objectives, priorities, and planned actions be circulated to the membership at least 30 days prior to the annual convention.

Critique: Selected Comments

(Editor's Note: Each of the 250 persons who attended the Summer Conference was sent a request for comments concerning the conference format and the conference recommendations. The following excerpts are taken from the 14 replies received prior to September 17. Emphasis is on substantive matters. Copies of all letters, including those which you may wish to write after reading these Proceedings, will be forwarded to members of the Research Board to assist them as they discuss implementation of the recommendations and plans for the 1970 Summer Conference.)

* * * * *

Since I spent almost all of my time at the conference in the sessions held by the workshop on Language and Speech Acquisition and Development, I feel it most appropriate to center my remarks to those matters. The conduct of the sessions was both interesting and exciting almost all of the time, and I felt a great deal of profitable, although technical, interchange occurred both within the committee and between the committee and visitors. After these discussions, I felt that the final recommendations of the committee fairly reflected the emerging consensus and were wisely constructed. I feel most strongly that each and every matter given priority by the committee be approved and acted upon as soon as is possible. I do not believe they can be significantly improved upon.

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The recommendations made by most of the panels were too general and vague; in several cases, the recommendations were not amenable to research at all. I think it would be better to give explicit direction in the recommendations instead of a vague feeling. In addition, the recommendations in all cases were too numerous. It seems to me that more action will follow from two or three urgent priorities than from the menagerie presented on Saturday morning.

I am perplexed about the role of scientific research in the solution of social problems. Since social problems tend to be specific and unique to the locale, much of the data is necessarily anecdotal. I would prefer to discuss more basic and researchable concepts of communication that could be uniquely adapted to a number of problems and locales.

The one exception to most of what I have written above was the language acquisition group. Many of their recommendations were researchable and they did relate to the process of communication.

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I think it important to keep in mind while considering the recommendations of the Summer Conference, that some of the recommendations of our Negro friends were in excess of their expectations, framed necessarily so, fearing descaling at best. As you must be aware, some extreme positions were taken, some extreme cases cited.

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The best thing about the conference was that it was a sociological revelation for many of the Association's WASP members. Certainly there were more black faces--and more importantly, there was a more eloquent articulation of the black viewpoint--than I have previously observed at SAA functions. Lord knows, we need to hear and witness more of this sort of thing, for I feel the conservatism of many members of the Association is disturbing to its younger members--even the relatively affluent, white, middle class ones like myself. Such foment serves a real purpose.

This good feature, however, leads to the major limitation of the conference: there was relatively little time spent talking about specific research priorities (I thought one notable exception was the Committee on Research in Black Rhetoric, which was admirably chaired) and a great deal of dialogue on ideological posture. This is fine, except that these postures are easily transferred into SAA policies. Obviously, it's not too good for a small number of members (and some non-members) to be making pronouncements that may be taken to reflect Association policy--for as the President of Malcolm X College so eloquently asserted, the people are the power. Thus, I was left with a disquieting feeling that the meeting served more of a sensitivity training function than an information and idea pooling function--but then again, that may be good.

Finally, since I heard some grumbling and backlash, I'd like to commend the decision-makers for holding the conference in Minneapolis. I, for one, don't view Chicago as the hub of the universe, and I'm happy that we go some new places occasionally.

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It seemed inappropriate to hold a conference of this type in a city like Minneapolis. Minneapolis is an extremely isolated community and, in a sense, so removed from the social problems facing this country that it seems "escapist" at a time when an attempt was being made to be "relevant."

By holding the meeting in a hotel other than the Leamington, the problem might have been resolved. What I'm trying to say is that if you want to do socially relevant work, it seems that soft chairs, chandeliers, and other forms of traditional "middle classness" should be discarded in form of a setting similar to the location of the problems. And, of course, hotel people made a nice killing on room rents, food, etc. That same money might have been made by people who really need the money.

I am hopeful that you will not consider the effort to be a final one. In fact, I am hopeful that you will do something like this on a regular basis. I think the issues in this area are important and that a number of people would be interested in reading a report in a year or so in which the effects of the suggestions of the Conference are given, i.e., a statement of how much of the proposed research is actually being done.

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I wish to express my thanks for the creation and presentation of an imaginative and valuable summer conference. The format was a most welcome break from the routine paper-reading, no-time-for-questions programs that constitute most conferences and conventions.

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I found it anachronistic that the Conference should endorse a recommendation refusing to participate in investigations of campus conflict, thus endorsing the sentiment that such research is dangerous, and the fear that the FBI-CIA enterprise already possessed a list of some one million (or whatever the figure was) who seemed to someone to be somehow linked with the militant forces for change.

Philosophically, the argument that a specific research enterprise is "dangerous" has no weight. All research is potentially dangerous to beliefs, values, dynasties, and/or individuals. The question is more "to whom," "in what way" is it dangerous? And perhaps, "is the potential danger greater than the danger of avoiding the research?" The danger implied, of course, was linked with the ominous FBI-CIA list of militants, demonstrators, sympathizers, or whomsoever might be on the list. My first response to this suggestion is that the chances of everyone in that room already being on the list is substantially greater than the 1/120 probability of mere chance within the total population. If, then, we are already there, what is the danger of being identified in the SAA office as a central repository of findings in numerous investigations of campus demonstrations--in particular, if the identification of people is incidental to the major goal of securing better understanding of the rhetoric of confrontation? If one name appears in several demonstrations on different campuses, he would certainly be one to query about how tactics work, how effects differ, etc. To paraphrase one respondent, what the supoorters of the "don't identify, don't research campus protest" resolution seem to want is the opportunity to stand up and not be counted, lest the tactics, through better understanding, lose some of their effectiveness on a hapless administration and society. This policy I cannot support, nor do I feel that the SAA can, in keeping with the Credo, support it. I believe that we should encourage confrontation under the same analytic eye we favor for any communicative situation, and work for the day of better understanding.

My more general comment was that I was enthused by the conference. Having played a roving judge at enough intercollegiate events to know that it won't work to move about and try to pick up a discussion in process, I stayed with the "Community Relations" group. They got along rather well, I thought, developing some genuine exchange of ideas before the time was all gone. I proposed at the time, and would reinforce with you the idea that in their desire to survey and analyze group techniques and their usefulness with racist attidudes, universities have a very useful line of contact already in existence in all states, wich can and should be used, either on a local level or anywhere up to the national level--or both. I refer to the Cooperative Extension Service (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture) --the old "county agents," who have over the past three years and more ben compelled to develop their efforts in the ghettos, with all sorts of racial situations and low income people, in order to implement the foods and nutritin programs of the federal government. With some variations, it is now true in every state that there are both professional agents and sub-professional aides workig in the cities and among rural populations on a family-by-family basis and in grups, both segregated and integrated. These agents have established the initial report with their client-cooperators. They can be a great source of contacts, and, t the same time, can profit from some assistance from the communicators (i.e. AA researchers) in terms of structuring and presenting some of their materils. Whatever we might discover about such communication would be readily "useable" to Extension as a testing ground, or a practitioner of the art of ghetto communication. A number of the ideas emanating from the Disadvantaged session fit in wih what I know to be their approach, and I intend to review the Proceedings quite arefully in this regard to see what should be re-emphasized.

THE JOURNAL OF COOPERATIVE EXTENSION, edited by G. L. Carter and the University of Wisconsin, may be a good outlet for publication of research patterns and findings concerning communication in the context noted above. They tend to play down the tabular presentation of data, and emphasize the practical implications of what is discovered, because the JOURNAL is read by agents interested in getting their job done. With a circulation of around 10,000 it is a highly respectable publication, and presents an interesting exercise in writing for a specific audience. The same is true of some other periodicals in the field of adult education.

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As to the recommendations of the conference, I concurred with all save condemnation of all current texts and of all current voice and artic courses. Of course, not being able to see them in writing was something of a handicap and I may well have misunderstood the intent of these two.

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I have two observations that I didn't make at the meeting because everyone seemed to be having such a good time!

(1). Too much emphasis on research and too little on action. The SAA, as usual, spends too much time in the attempt to become academically respectable and too little time is devoted to what will be academically meaningful.

(2). Even at such a conference of communication "experts," the blacks and whites were only pretending to talk to each other--a cautious politeness with occasional outbursts of anger or defensiveness. Perhaps SAA should study that phenomena.

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I was particularly disturbed by the reluctance of those in speech to engage in research which is other than practical or applied. They seemed to feel that the nature of the field was such as to require practical applications to come out of their research. It seems to me that the field of speech could do no better than concentrate on basic or pure research. Applications of research findings, especially in areas such as language acquisition, are premature at best.

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I don't think that it is fitting or very meaningful to react to the rhetoric of the research conference. The accomplishments of the conference remain to be seen. Will the Speech Association do something or will they listen to the minutes of the conference and believe that they have done something? Was all of the dialogue in vain or will individuals do something relevant? Will the Association use its funds to sponsor a Black Rhetoric Conference? I can't answer these questions. However, I do hope that the Association will answer in a positive fashion.

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Student Activism and Academic Research: Action and Reaction

Philip G. Altbach
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Like the weather, everyone talks about student political activism, and a few people even try to study it. As a result, the literature on student activism and related issues in the United States has become substantial, particularly since the Berkeley "student revolt" of 1964. Students have received attention in the popular media as well as in scholarly and semi-scholarly publications of all kinds. And unlike the developing countries, where academic interest in student affairs is of a very recent origin, American scholars have been concerned with university students for several decades at least.

I will attempt to delineate some of the broad areas of research on student activism in the United States, and will then discuss some of the major contributions to these fields. Clearly, only a very small proportion of the total number of books and other publications are mentioned here, and the important area of dissertations and privately published reports has been omitted. Those interested in additional bibliographical materials might find such publications as *Sociology of Education*, the *American Sociological Review*, *Minerva*, *Psychological Abstracts*, *Comparitive Education Review*, *College Student Personnel Abstracts* of interest in this field. Several bibliographies have also been published in the area of student activism.[1]

A word should be said concerning the growth of research on student activism and more general problems of university students in the United States. As early as 1891, Henry D. Sheldon was writing about student life in America, and discussing the various types of student organizations existing in universities at the time.[2] C. F. Thwing dealt with similar issues in several volumes.[3] Not surprisingly, very little of this early research was devoted to political activism, which was very limited. Early writings concerning American students were, by and large, limited to descriptive considerations of student life, and there was little empirical research concerning political activities or other aspects of student attitudes. Since student political activism was sporadic and unorganized for the most part, it was difficult for scholars to devote attention to this aspect of student life and few felt it was a significant research topic.

The first academic discipline to take any substantial interest in the student was psychology, which found students to be a convenient laboratory for testing hypotheses concerning attitudes, perceptions, and group interaction patterns. Later, sociologists joined the ranks of professors who administered questionnaires to small groups of students, or who used student populations as a means of obtaining general information concerning social groups. Almost all of this research, which began in earnest in the 1920's, concerned rather specific problems, and very little was designed to test student attitudes on political matters. As a result, the plethora of articles which appeared in sociological and psychological journals are of only a very limited significance for any study of issues related directly to student activism. Another area of research concerning college students is of a more recent origin, but is only peripherally related to activism on the campus. This is the guidance and counseling oriented research which has been conducted, largely since World War II. Articles in such publications as the *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors*, and the *Journal of the National*

Association of Student Personnel Administrators are often of a high quality, but generally are of only limited relevance for student activism.

Until very recently, college students were not considered to be of political importance, and thus were virtually ignored by political scientists and others concerned with political behavior and attitudes. Student movements were considered as children's crusades, and could be ignored by serious scholars. From the leftist viewpoint, the workers were seen as the key element of social change, and middle-class students were of no importance. This lack of interest in students is evidenced not only in the United States, where college students have generally not been of broader political significance until very recently, but also in the developing nations where students were key elements in nationalist movements as early as 1900. A final reason for the relatively small amount of research on issues specifically relevant to student political activism in the university is the tendency of academics to be interested in studying every social organism but their own. As a result, research concerning the American university generally -- from sociological and historical perspectives -- is relatively limited and has really grown only in the past decade or so. In the current period, with the growing militancy and clear political volatility of students, both in America and around the world, the amount of research in this area has developed substantially. Thus, most of the material cited in this essay is of recent origin.

General Analysis of Student Political Activism

There is, to date, no full-blown "theory" of student activism as there is in the area of organizational behavior or political socialization. There have, however, been a number of more or less general analyses of student political behavior in various contexts. While these do not provide a complete theoretical background for more specific research, it is worthwhile to consider these materials. Articles by Seymour Martin Lipset,[4] Philip G. Altbach,[5] and E. Wight Bakke,[6] all deal with generalizations and hypotheses concerning student activism in various historical and geographical situations. They are particularly useful in generating broader concepts concerning this subject. Christian Bay[7] deals with some theoretical issues concerning activism in its American context, while Glaucio A. D. Soares[8] and Kenneth Walker[9] discuss some of the sociological variables concerning activism in Latin America. Joseph Ben-David and Randall Collins[10] deal with the relationship of academic freedom and student politics, and Joseph Roucek,[11] and William MacIntyre[12] consider some general aspects of student activism. These articles provide a rather general background to student activism, the role of students in university affairs and in broader politics, and other issues. Examples from the United States and other countries are used and both historical and contemprary examples are considered.

Kenneth Keniston, one of the most perceptive commentators on student affairs, has added both theoretical insights and some specific information concerning activists to the literature. His book, The Young Radicals, is a social-psychological discussion of the radical student activists of the 1960's.[13] Keniston also deals with some of the general motivations of student protest in another article.[14] A number of writers have dealt with more general problems of youth in Amrica, and some of these analyses have a direct relevance for a consideration of stuent activism. The work of Erik Erikson is particularly valuable in this regad.[15] Samuel Bellman,[16] Kaoru Yamamoto[17] and others have edited volumes which as useful in any overall consideration of students and politics, although most of tese essays do not deal directly with student activism.

Student activism in various foreign countries may provide a valuable comparative perspective for considering American student politics. Recent research has provided a number of significant studies of students overseas, and while it is not possible to list even the best of this material completely here, several works can be mentioned. *Daedalus* provides one of the most valuable collections of articles on student movements abroad,[18] and a series of studies published by Basic Books and under the overall editorship of Seymour Martin Lipset features a number of country studies of student activism.[19] Richard Cornell offers an analysis of student and youth movements in Eastern Europe.[20] More than five hundred books and articles on student activism overseas are listed in the *Select Bibliography on Students, Politics, and Higher Education.*[21] While America offers many unique features, a consideration of student activism in its international setting may provide some insights to the American situation.

Until very recently, it was very difficult to make meaningful generalizations concerning student politics, either in the United States or abroad. With the growth of interest in the field, and the increasing amount and high quality of recent research, it is possible to begin to formulate cross-cultural hypotheses in this area, thus making the task of analysis and prediction of student behavior more meaningful. Some of the questions dealt with in the studies cited above are:

1. What are the campus conditions which tend to involve students in various countries in political activity?
2. What are the historical circumstances under which students are likely to be politically involved?
3. What are the psychological variables involved in student political activism?
4. Who are the activists? What is their social class background, fields of academic concentration, vocational interest, political ideology, etc.?
5. What have the responses to student activism been in differing circumstances, and what have the results of activism been?

These and other issues are, of course, of key importance to any analysis of American student activism and the comparative perspective may provide valuable assistance in this task.

In addition to the bibliographical surveys cited above, there are several institutes and agencies which are engaged in continuing research on students and protest activities, along with broader university problems. The Institute for the Study of Human Problems at Stanford University, directed by Professor Joseph Katz, has been engaged in psychological research on student activists and more generally on university students. The Comparative National Development Project, directed by Professor Seymour Martin Lipset at Harvard University, has been concerned primarily with student activism overseas although some work on American students has also been done. Professor Richard Flacks at the University of Chicago has been engaged in a research effort on Youth and Social Change and his studies on the sociological backgrounds of protesters have emerged from this project. The Center for the Study of Higher Education of the University of California at Berkeley has been engaged in research on broader problems of higher education, including student protest, and the research section of the Educational Testing Service, under the directorship of Dr. Richard Peterson, has been engaged in continuing studies of student activism as well. The Center for Research on Learning and Teaching at the University of Michigan has been concerned with exploring the sources of student dissent as well as with broader educational issues. The U. S. National Student Association has published a number of studies of various aspects of student activism in the United States and abroad, and its recent program of conferences on student stress and university reform have produced some relevant material. In addition, such organizations as the American Council on Education and various campus ministry programs have sponsored research in areas of student politics.

Student Politics in America: Research and Analysis

The amount of recently published material on American student activism has increased substantially in recent years. To provide a coherence to this research within the context of this time, some of the more relevant areas of research on students will be described and the more prominent research findings listed. An effort has been made to provide the most recent material at the expense of ignoring some interesting but often somewhat dated historical studies.

1. General Commentary on American Student Politics

There is hardly a commentator on the American social scene who has not written on student activism, nor a major American magazine which has not published a special issue on students. Both Harper's[22] and the Atlantic[23] devoted themselves to students, not to mention Life and the Saturday Evening Post.[24] One of the first major commentators to treat students with any degree of seriousness was David Riesman, who has published a number of articles analyzing student activism from a generally sympathetic viewpoint.[25] Seymour Martin Lipset and Philip G. Altbach provide an overview of research on students and politics in America in a recent article.[26] This article attempts to discuss both the societal and university variables which have moved students to engage in activist programs, and surveys some of the relevant research in this area. S. M. Lipset deals at some length with the historical background to student activism, providing information concerning student organizations in the 1930's and the immediate post-war period, and linking these groups to current student movements in an article in Government and Opposition.[27] Philip G. Altbach predicts some future trends in American student activism from a historical perspective,[28] and E. G. Williamson and John Cowan[29] provide data on the political climate on American university campuses, and information about the kinds of demonstrations and unrest which have taken place in the past few years.

Martin Meyerson[30] and Kenneth Keniston[31] provide further insights into the roots of student dissent in their essays in the volume, The Contemporary University: USA. Both authors seek, through largely psychological means, to explore some of the institutional and personal features which lead students to protest against various aspects of university life. One of the first general articles on the student movement appeared in New University Thought, a quarterly journal edited by graduate students and argued for the importance of student politics.[32] Lewis Feuer, one of the best-known critics of student activism, has attempted to describe ideological trends in student activism in a recent Survey article.[33]

Some historical perspective to the current wave of student activism is provided by Michael Harrington[34] and Fred M. Hechinger.[35] The Nation has, for a number of years, featured an annual special issue on the campus scene and these issues also provide some historical perspective. Other journals deal on a regular basis with opinion and commentary on student affairs. Among these are the New Republic, Dissent, New Politics, Saturday Review, Minerva, National Guardian, Commentary, and others. Student edited magazines naturally devote a good deal of space to discussions of student activism, and these are of much value in obtaining an understanding of the student movement. The SDS newspaper, New Left Notes, features regular discussion of theoretical and tactical problems of the student left. Such quarterlies as New University Thought, The Activist, and the now defunct Studies on the Left deal with student activism, as does the New Individualist Review, which reflects a conservative viewpoint.

In addition to the articles and journals mentioned, there have been a number of books written on general aspects of student activism. A volume of readings edited by Christopher Katope and Paul Zolbrod[36] has a section dealing specifically with the Berkeley student revolt, and other sections concerned with broader problems of the university, while another volume edited by Irving Howe[37] deals specifically with student activism. R. Bruce Douglass' volume, Reflections on Protest, features essays of a general nature on student protest, as well as case studies from the United States and abroad.[38] Richard E. Peterson's volume on The Scope of Organized Student Protest in 1964-1965 provides one of the most thorough overviews of student activism published recently and has details on the kinds of institutions involved in protest activities as well as the frequency of such activity.[39] O. W. Knorr and W. J. Minter's volume on Order and Freedom on the Campus features articles largely from the administrator's perspective on student activism and related issues,[40] while Leonard Blumberg and Robert James have discussed the context of student activism in the sixties.[41]

2. Sociological and Psychological Variables in Student Activism

Sociologists and psychologists have been among the most active observers of student activism and a number of publications have appeared analyzing American college students from these perspectives. Only the more general materials are listed in this section, while some sociological analyses of particular student groups, for example, are enumerated later. Sociologists and psychologists have been interested in student activism from a number of perspectives; as examples of deviate behavior, as case studies in adolescent development, as case studies of group interaction or collective behavior, as means of political socialization, and because of personal psychological development. Not the least of the motivations for research has been the fact that university administrators have often called on academics to find out what is going on on the campus in order to deal with crisis situations. Psychologists and psychiatrists are often interested in student activism because university counseling and psychiatric services are called on to deal with individual activists.

Some of the more general psychological works, by such scholars as Kenneth Keniston and Erik Erikson, have already been mentioned. There are also a growing number of more specific psychological studies dealing with particular aspects of student attitudes and activism. Joseph Katz and his colleagues at the Institute for the Study of Human Problems at Stanford University have made major contributions in this area.[42] Graham Blaine[43] and Robert Coles,[44] both of Harvard University, have also investigated some of the psychological problems of college students in an age of affluence with Coles emphasizing psychological issues related to student activists. Jacob Fishman and Fredric Solomon have also done some pioneering work concerning student participation in social action projects and the psychological implications of such activities.[45] These are only a small sample of the psychological work done on students in the United States. Most of the research in this area, however, consists of small samples of students used for very limited purposes in specific university settings, and is therefore of only peripheral interest.[46]

The sociological literature on student activism is generally more dirctly related to student activism. Two pioneering studies of student political atitudes and aspirations were, perhaps, the beginnings of research in this area.[47] Richard Flacks, who is currently doing research on the social origins and attitudesof student activists, has published several articles on this subject.[48] Jan Hjda has dealt with alienation among student intellectuals, an important factor leading to political activism,[49] and John Orbell has investigated political particiation among southern Negro college students.[50] Richard E. Peterson has attemptedto delineate some of the student subcultures which differentiated a college environment, and these subcultures have a direct relevance for student activism.[51] The Berkeley student revolt generated a number of studies among which is an article by William Watts and David Whittaker which defines the participants in the Free Speech Movement according to social class and other variables.[52] Research by Braungart and Westby discuss the social class and family backgrounds of student activists of both left and right.[53] Aiken, Demerath, and Marwell have studied background variables of student activists from the University of Wisconsin who participated in civil rights work in the South,[54] and other researchers have begun to engage in detailed analysis of the activists.

3. The Berkeley Student Revolt

Perhaps no other event in the history of student activism in the United States has stimulated as much commentary and research as the Berkeley student revolt of 1964. Not only did the events at the University of California attract national attention and have repercussions for American higher education, but the crisis stimulated many social scientists, at Berkeley and elsewhere, to enter the fray with polemical essays and questionnaires. The result of this intellectual stimulus has been a veritable bookshelf of material. Seymour Martin Lipset and Sheldon S. Wolin provide the most comprehensive view of the Berkeley events, and include in their volume both selections of the various polemical articles concerning the crisis and many of the various studies by social scientists concerning the crisis and the participants in it.[55] Lipset and Wolin attempt to be neutral in their analysis and material on all sides of the question is provided. Hal Draper's volume is written from the perspective of a partizan of the student movement at Berkeley. Draper himself was one of the intellectual fathers of the movement, and his book provides a consideration of the events from a viewpoint largely favorable to the students.[56] Michael Miller and Susan Gilmore's book on the Berkeley student revolt also consists of a collection of articles and gives an overview of the events although it is not quite as complete as the Lipset-Wolin volume.[57] Lewis Feuer's controversial article in the New Leader[58] stated the conservative side of the events, while a number of essays argued for the liberal side. Perhaps the most thorough summary of the Berkeley crisis appeared in a special issue of the California Monthly.[59] Joseph Gusfield, among others, has attempted to put Berkeley in the context of American higher education,[60] and Gerald Rosenfeld has used Berkeley to discuss the problem of generational revolt.[61] The sociological studies, most of which are reported in the Lipset and Wolin volume, round out the discussion of this most dramatic example of student activism.

4. The New Left: Research and Reaction

One of the most important political and intellectual results of the rise of student activism has been the growth of the "New Left." While not limited to students alone, most observers agree that the New Left gets both its intellectual stimulation and much of its manpower from the campus. There is a good deal of disagreement on what the New Left means, who constitutes it, and its overall impact both on the university and on American politics. What the literature lacks in consensus it makes up for in bulk. Mitchell Cohen and Dennis Hale have edited a collection of essays entitled The New Student Left.[62] This volume features chapters by some of the more articulate student leaders, and provides an excellent overview of the philosophy and the major issues which motivate the New Left. Included in this volume are selections from the Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society, perhaps the most articulate statement of New Left ideology.[63] In their volume, Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau[64] take a generally sympathetic view of the New Left, and provide both a long essay on the origins and nature of the new student movement, as well as a collection of readings concerning student activism. Philip Abbott Luce, himself a defector from the ranks of the extreme left Progressive Labor Movement, has written an expose of the various New Left organizations which is only of limited usefulness in gaining an understanding of the movement.[65]

Jack Newfield has written of the Prophetic Minority[66] which he sees as one of the most positive forces in American society for social change. His analysis is both sympathetic and revealing of some of the broader motivations of the New Left students. Irving Howe, in his Dissent article,[67] has critically examined some of the ideological bases of the New Left, and has criticized the movement for its lack of coherence and its anti-ideological stance. Herbert Gans has also analyzed the ideology of the New Left,[68] but from a more radical viewpoint, while Penina Glazer has discussed what she calls the "style" of the New Left in a recent article.[69] Steven Kelman has discussed some of the problems of the key New Left organization, the Students for a Democratic Society.[70]

Some of the action projects of the New Left have been discussed by various observers. Andrew Kopkind has described some of the community organizing projects of the students[71] while the Free Universities are discussed by Ralph Keyes in an article in the Nation.[72] Descriptions of the activities of groups like the SDS appear regularly in such publications as Studies on the Left, Our Generation, New Left Notes, the National Guardian, and others. George Clark discusses some of the history and broader concerns of the SDS.[73] It seems clear that the fact that the new student left is a tiny minority of the student population in the United States has not diminished its importance or the interest shown in it by observers. To date, relatively little research of a comprehensive nature has been done concerning the New Left. The work of Richard Flacks and Kenneth Keniston, cited above, is a beginning in this direction. The bulk of writing to date has been either polemical or descriptive.

5. Research on Student Organizations and Trends

Different aspects of the student movement have also received some detailed attention as the research in this area has grown. Most of the journalistic and much of the scholarly attention has been given to leftist student groups and trends, but this is not entirely the case. Some of the research reported in this section provides quite detailed analysis into rather specialized aspects of student activism, and therefore gives you a somewhat better understanding of the key organizations which provide the context of the movement.

Right wing student activity in America has not received much attention but has been nevertheless of sporadic importance. Research by Lawrence Schiff has dealt with some of the psychological and sociological aspects of rightist student politics.[74] Edward Cain's They'd Rather Be Right[75] also deals with this topic as does research reported by the Opinion Research Corporation.[76] Ron Dorfman, et. al. deal with the student right in the context of student politics.[77] The journals of such groups as the Young Americans for Freedom and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists provide information concerning the activities of these organizations. It seems clear that despite substantial organizing efforts and relatively lavish financing, the student right has not achieved notable success on most campuses.

Perhaps the most important of the student movements in recent years has been the student civil rights movement. Students have been most effective in the area of civil rights and they have been credited with having sparked the first sit-ins and with having provided much of the manpower for the various campaigns of the movement in both North and South. The current "black power" emphasis of the movement has naturally alienated many white middle-class college students, and as a result civil rights on the campus has lost much of its impetus. Nevertheless, it is one of the most important aspects of student activism in the United States.

Howard Zinn's *SNCC: The New Abolitionists*[78] is probably the best account of the early period of the civil rights movement and particularly the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, while Pat Watters deals with a somewhat later period in SNCC's development.[79] Jacob Fishman and Fredric Solomon[80] have dealt perceptively with some of the psychological factors in civil rights activity, while John Orbell has dealt with some of the sociological variables.[81] More ideological and tactical considerations are dealt with in such publications as the *National Guardian*, the *Activist*, and other student journals. Anne Braden attempted to place the southern feeedom movement into a political perspective in an article in the *Monthly Review*.[82] Charles Jones has also attempted an analysis of SNCC.[83] Despite these beginnings at analysis of the civil rights movement on the campus, relatively little research has been done in this area. Almost nothing is known about the socialization patterns within the movement, about motivations for joining, or about black-white relations. It is clear, however, that much of the training which has proved so vital for student activists in the current period was gained in the civil rights struggles, both north and south, of the early 1960's.

Other aspects of the student movement have received even less analytic attention. The student peace movement, and the various groups involved in the anti-Vietnam movement have involved thousands of students but there is almost no research on this topic. Robert Coles has done some preliminary work from the psychological perspective,[84] but little is known about the organizations involved. Philip G. Altbach has written an historical account which has some discussion of the student role in the American peace movement.[85] The civil liberties campaigns of the late 1950's, which were perhaps the first evidence of student activism after the apathy of the McCarthy period have also received little attention. David Horowitz's volume, *Student*, deals with the campaign in California, but little is known about the rest of the country.[86] Some current research being conducted by Richard Flacks, Richard Peterson, Kenneth Keniston and others will provide more insight into the anti-Vietnam movement. Remarkably little historical research on student organizations and movements has been conducted in the United States despite the fact that student activism has a relatively long history. Research on the legal aspects of student dissent has received very little attention despite the growing number of court cases concerning student activism. A special issue of the *California Law Review* gives an overview of some of the current research available.[87]

One of the largest American student organizations is the U. S. National Student Association. While the NSA has not engaged in radical direct action, it has been an active force on the campus for almost twenty years. Except for generally unavailable NSA publications, there has been no research on the historical and political development of the NSA. The organization's more recent history, particularly its relationships with the Central Intelligence Agency, has received some attention. The original expose, which appeared in *Ramparts*, provides some interesting historical information[88] and reports in *Time* and other publications also have background material on the international aspect of NSA's activities.[89]

A number of other, usually less dramatic, aspects of student activism and activity in the United States have gone virtually unreported. Religious organizations like the Student Christian Movement, the YM-YWCA, and the Young Christian Students have been active in social action areas for a number of years. *Motive* magazine has given regular coverage to the development of religiously oriented student movements, and Clarence Shedd has written a history of the Student Christian Movement in the United States.[90] Religious organizations, such as the United Ministries in Higher Education, have also sponsored research and publications concerning student activism and university problems. College groups of the Young Democrats and Young Republicans, while usually fairly inactive and reserved for ambitious law students interested in political careers, are occasionally important for the broader student movement. The implications of the fraternity and sorority systems for campus activism have also been ignored. It is natural that most of the analysis has been aimed at the more dramatic manifestations of student unrest, but it is also important to devote attention to other aspects of student political activism.

Conclusion

It is clear from this rather cursory summary of research on student political activism in the United States that, while a beginning has been made, there is need for much more detailed and rigorous research in this area. Much of the material published to date is more journalistic and polemical than analytical. There are, of course, various problems involved in analyzing student activism. Not the least of these problems is the ephemeral nature of most student organizations, and particularly of their leaders. A student generation, after all, lasts perhaps four years, and unlike many of the developing countries, there is no tradition of the "permanent student" in the United States. Students are, in addition, notoriously fickle politically. Issues which motivate student protest change from month to month, thus causing shifts in organizations and leadership.

It is often difficult to know what aspects of student activism are important to the campus community. At least some of the analysis of the current "new left" might have better been aimed at less dramatic but perhaps more representative aspects of the student community. While it is clear that all activism is a phenomenon of a minority -- usually a very small minority -- of the student population, this does not make the activism any less important. Indeed, like the situation in many of the developing nations, American student activists may act as a conscience and voice for their generation, speaking for the majority of students who are silent and seemingly apathetic. Student activism follows definite geographic and disciplinary lines -- there is more campus political consciousness at the larger, more prestigious, universities of the North and West than at institutions in the South, denominational colleges, and smaller state universities. Furthermore, a large proportion of the activists are concentrated in the social sciences and humanities. As a result of these ecological and disciplinary factors, the institutions and disciplines which have less activism have been virtually ignored by researchers -- and yet these institutions have occasionally flared up and are certainly of key importance to the university system as a whole.

The study of student activism is clearly not a separate discipline, and as yet is not even a sub-field such as sociology of education or philosophy of science. It is, perhaps, a sub-sub field within the sociology of education although it is certainly true that many non-sociologists have been doing research on students. As a result of this rather anarchistic situation, there has been almost no coordination of research and it is difficult to locate relevant information. Few efforts at providing bibliographical sources have been attempted and the wide range of publications in which articles on students appear makes it particularly difficult to locate materials easily.

It seems clear that research in this field will continue and will improve both in quantity and quality. The study of student activism is not an esoteric subject for irrelevant academics, but is a matter of the utmost concern to university administrators, and perhaps in the long run for government officials. And as the universities continue to expand, to attract larger and more heterogeneous student populations, and become more important in American cultural and political life, student activism will become increasingly relevant. There is no guarantee that the kinds of activism which are evident in the mid-1960's will continue into the future. Indeed, the commitment of the student left to non-violence which characterized the early sixties seems to have become less strong as the Vietnam conflict and the crisis of the ghetto have intensified. And, of course, it is possible that the campus will revert to the quietude of the 1950's at some point.

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For the present, and probably for the future as well, administrators and others will have to deal with student activism. It is hoped that university policy will be based on enlightened analysis and not simply on the balance of various internal and external pressures which seem to have characterized much academic decision making. Furthermore, the phenomenon of student political activism may teach us something about broader trends in the American political system, and is certainly a key to understanding a new generation of intellectuals and activists. For these reasons, it is hoped that research on student activism will continue and that constructive use will be made of the result of this research.

FOOTNOTES

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

TOWARD A NEW PERSPECTIVE FOR FIELD RESEARCH IN SPEECH-COMMUNICATION

(Supplement to Report of Workshop on Field Studies)

Assumptions for Field Perspective in Speech-Communication

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In the days since the SAA Summer Conference, I have had the opportunity to read an article by Christopher Jencks and David Riesman entitled "Where Graduate Schools Fail."[1] The article comprehensively criticizes graduate education, finding fault with graduate school structure, graduate faculty and graduate students. The twinges of anger one feels attest to the accuracy of many of their comments and the feelings of sadness attest to one's agreement with the authors' sense of despair as to the possibility of correcting any aspect of the present state of affairs.

I was reminded of the frustration of a young undergraduate student returning from her first exploratory field research in one of the countless quaint, but decaying rural California towns, when she remarked, "It might not have been so difficult had they followed a speech outline that I knew!" This student, like many of her less effusive elders, is encountering the widening gap between the complacent satisfaction of the theoretical inbreeding in the university and the mystique of reality accorded to the so-called "nitty-gritty."

While any attempt at a parsimonious evaluation of the total thrust and direction of the several sessions in Minneapolis would be both foolhardy and premature, it did occur to me that the young woman's remark was inherent in each of the session's endeavors; to wit: "What kind of outlines are we following in our research?" or the more disturbing, "What kinds of outlines are we teaching and, in graduate research, demanding?"

Jencks and Riesman hit at the core of our concern for relevance by pointing to the fact that graduate students "can move directly from college through graduate school, doing their thesis on someone else's data, and can avoid almost all contact with nonacademic people."[2] Concerned with the acceptance of their results by their colleagues' apprehension regarding the "subjective" as opposed to the eminently more defensible "objective" data, the authors claim modern graduate research to have reached a stage of rigid sterility.

Within the context of this demand for relevance, scholars in all of the social sciences are experiencing almost unendurable frustration. Elliptical molecular models and desultory operational premises, the product of a tradition of careful thought and painstaking research, seem both trivial and inapplicable when the leader of a community-action group asks, "What can you do for me?" Adding to this frustration, the scholar must admit the uncertainty shared by all the social sciences regarding the most efficient and trustworthy methods of acquiring new, vitally relevant information regarding human behavior in or out of crisis. Even a cursory interdisciplinary field trip to the campus library--assuming the traveller's grasp of idiosyncratic jargon--leaves one impressed with the overall endeavor but doubtful as to the general applicability of the product.

In this period of emphasis on the complexities of a dynamic and transactional outlook on communicative endeavor, few scholars dare to move from the theoretical models of the middle range to the lofty heights of the theorem. Complete statements concerning the most limited molecular area of human interaction, relating each statement to discriminate empirical fact, appear now to be a possibility restricted to scholars in the somewhat distant future. But the demand for relevance is today! In the face of social urgency and limited resource, sciences such as anthropology, sociology and psychology are beginning to question (1) the immediate applicability and value of restricting research to operational levels which attempt to complete existing theoretical models, (2) the rigorous epistemological limitations exacted by present methodological stances, and (3) the assumptions traditionally relied upon for exacting interdisciplinary boundaries and investigatory focus. In addition, researchers are becoming increasingly aware that both traditional design limitations and underlying assumptions of a given discipline must not only be reshaped in terms of the urgent need for more relevant information but also that both the design and the assumptions themselves must be reevaluated in terms of the peculiar exigencies of a rapidly changing, crisis-oriented society.

In microcosm the group assigned to the section on "field study design" felt the same dizzying frustration experienced by social scientists at large. Questions regarding definitions of the kinds of field study and controversy over the priority of the several areas were anticipated and, to a large extent, answered. On the other hand, it was instructive and perhaps representative of similar discussions among researchers throughout the world that the peculiar characteristics of field research design would necessarily throw the discussants into the ambiguous area of delimiting basic assumptions of the speech-communication profession generally and of attempting to explicate the characteristic demands exacted upon the data-collector in a modern technological society. While some discussion did ensue regarding the possibility of laying out basic assumptions of speech-communication simultaneously acceptable to speech-communications scholars and feasible to the daily operations of the field researcher in any social situation, time limitations forced restriction of the discussion to the gross definitional stage and sorties into specific areas of potential research such as campus conflict, community relations, etc. Sensing the immediate importance of this source of ambiguity, it was suggested that a paper be written to be attached to the general recommendations of the committee. This paper was to explicate in the clearest possible form the model utilized in two exploratory studies done in Chicago during 1967-68.[3] The members of the audience urged strongly that, whenever possible, "academic jargon" be eschewed in favor of "simple language." Every effort has been made in this direction; however, for those scholars interested in pursuing the sources of the interdisciplinary rationale, selective bibliographic directions have been afforded. In the next paper Russell Jennings presents a general statement of difficulties potentially confronted in studies of communicative subject matter in urban areas and, by way of example, gives a brief account of an exploratory field study carried out by the present writer and Jennings in Chicago during 1967-68 in which this molar model was both developed and utilized in the field.

Any model which purports to act as a guide to the field researcher in speech-communications must attempt to meet two criteria: (1) the model must be comprehensively adaptive to both narrow and broad interpretations of the activities said to comprise symbolic interaction and (2) the model must be concrete enough to act as a resource for design direction in both planning and execution stages of information-gathering in highly fluid, relatively uncontrolled situations.

It is obvious at the outset that such a model will have, by necessity, interdisciplinary origins. This should not shock any involved speech-communications scholar familiar with such theorizing as Kenneth Burke's analysis, Franklin Fearing's psychological model, or Leon Festinger's cognitive dissonance hypothesis; indeed, the results and the bibliographical suggestions in *Conceptual Frontiers in Speech-Communication: Report of the New Orleans Conference on Research and Instructional Development* offer ample indication that crossing traditional methodological and disciplinary boundaries is common practice among the foremost scholars in the Speech Association of America.

Predominantly, however, the evidence derives from middle range theorizing[4] arising out of several areas of scholarly endeavor in the disciplines of speech-communication, social anthropology and social psychology. Beyond that, however, the basic thrust of the model will be recognized as deriving specifically from the symbolic interactionist school of George H. Mead, C. H. Cooley, R. E. Park and from related scholars such as C. W. Mills and Kenneth Burke and, more recently, from modern spokesmen such as Hugh Duncan[5] and Herbert Blumer.[6] Overall direction and understanding of the field study, per se, was derived from the experience of anthropologists such as Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn, M. Mead, H. Powdermaker,[7] and B. Malinowski[8] with further direction from field workers in sociology. As a supplement to the general recommendations of the committee, an outline of areas of potential concern in field studies along with selected bibliographical suggestions has been developed.

FRAMEWORK OF ASSUMPTIONS FOR FIELD PERSPECTIVE IN SPEECH-COMMUNICATION

1. That culture, the perspective that is shared by a given group, "consists of those conventional understandings manifest in act and artifact, that characterize societies"[9] and arises out of interaction of human beings capable of utilizing symbolic behavior.

2. That while this controlling perspective may be shared by cultures whose members have had little or no possibility of interaction, such universality of the actual perspectives is usually fortuitous;[10] thus, the *form* of the communication rather than the *content* is the subject of investigation for the speech-communication theorist.

3. That since this perspective is uniquely restricted to persons actually enjoying the opportunity of interaction, the study of the forms of communicative behavior is best derived from an understanding of both the perspective and the observed communication viewed as covert and overt parts of a single act.[11]

4. That since any given culture operates and functions as a whole with varying degrees of internal harmony and integration,[12] speech-communications can be understood only within the overall context and framework of the actual social and non-social objects of such symbolic activity in the life situation of persons being observed.

5. That while research in speech-communications should and by necessity will derive information regarding the "content" of the activities of a given community (reaction to issues, attitudes toward questions of morality, historical anecdote) and matters pertinent to the fields of economics, religion, history, etc., these findings are considered peripheral except as they find relevance in describing the causes, factors and functions of symbolic events and the explication of the relations among them.[13]

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This general framework is suggestive of a more discriminate speech-communications model. This descriptive verbal model was developed from the general framework above to apply to the study of community-action groups. Thus, it focuses on the dynamics of purposeful group interaction out of which the individual and group perspectives arise. It emphasizes both the dynamically changing and residually static character of culture. Perspective in this model is seen as being "creatively reaffirmed from day to day in social interaction."[14] Knowledge of these "conventional understandings" allows the fully interacting individual to "define situations properly and thus, in sharing this common perspective, to predict the actions of others in his group." Perspective is learned in a given culture through interaction with its members and is seen as one phase of the total symbolic act.[15] This covert phase controls the social-symbolic action of individuals in the group and is subtly prescriptive as to socially accepted alternatives influencing both content and form of action in a finite number of broadly patterned social situations.

Generally, the fundamental task of the field researcher in speech-communications is to describe (1) the perspective that is active in (2) specific social situations (3) concurrent with the occurrence of specific symbolic acts in order (4) to develop a model incorporating all three of these areas, emphasizing the symbolic-activity central to the operations of the group. While the model should indicate cognizance of the characteristics peculiar to the group studied, generality being the objective of any science, the model should be potentially applicable on a cross-cultural plane.

FRAMEWORK OF ASSUMPTIONS FOR SPEECH-COMMUNICATIONS IN INTEGRATED ACTION-GROUPS

1. Individuals and groups both inherit and create patterns of sociation established (with variable operational success) to maintain satisfactory movement toward accepted goals.[16]

2. With regard to all those activities wherein certain individual actors attempt to influence others to action through symbolic behavior, the former must take accurate account of the perspective in a given situation in order to successfully manipulate the environment in a manner which promotes acceptance of the proposed action.[17]

3. The continued "taking account of the other" in an integrated group may potentially be analyzed as a source of discovering the group's definition of various social actions and the situations in which they occur. This analysis suggests that study may proceed from the "acts and artifacts" of a group to its perspective.

An actor (usually a leader of the inclusive system or subsystem)[18] begins his "striving behavior," i.e., he begins the initial symbolic phases of his attempt to influence others to action. While the manipulative effort is greatly facilitated if the relevant audience perceives the disequilibrium and the proposed counteraction in a way conducive to acceptance of the objectives of the actor, generally, even the most favorable situation involves some alteration of perspective (if only in terms of focus). In this latter case the leader must alter the perspective in terms of a specific target set of assumptions--i.e., a set of expectations potentially capable of triggering leader-selected actions in future attempts of the group to alter disequilibrium. Thus, the actor must "take account" of the audience perspective with respect to the disequilibrium, the target set of assumptions and the counteraction he plans to propose.

Due to the necessity of the leader to "take account" of his following, the resultant overt phase of the symbolic acts (making of speeches, involvement in conversations, tactile movements, established physical distances--all that G. H. Mead called a "significant gesture") when placed within the framework of carefully described situations and a statement of social and non-social objects enjoying cultural focus provides the researcher (or the "stranger" desiring a basis for successful striving) the opportunity to construct a profile of the perspective of the group being studied.

Assuming the premises developed above, the model views covert group perspective and overt group activity to be a matter of a single act of symbolic "striving" organically related to the products of integrated group action; further, that this organic connection offers the potential of successfully interpreting and predicting the future social acts of a given culture. In addition, the general framework of assumptions and the more specific premises developed for analysis of community-action groups leads quite clearly toward a model affording meaningful direction to the field researcher in the highly uncontrolled environment of the exploratory field study.

While the Chicago and Cicero, Illinois studies were adapted to the relatively limited access we were allowed, future exploratory studies should attempt to develop meaningful categories of analysis beyond speeches. Other products of communication and certain relevant aspects of striving situations might be productive objects for research. It is in this area that the exploratory field study is most needed; we are desperately in need of cross-cultural categories which offer the potentiality of developing conceptual forms for more singularly parsimonious theoretical formulations.

FIELD STUDY TECHNIQUES: A SELECTED OUTLINE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Jencks and Riesman conclude their attack on the sterility of graduate research by extolling the tradition of anthropology for maintaining, despite the availability of second hand data, a regard for field work as "having educational value above and beyond the data collected." Can we loosen the bonds of methodological rigidity which make graduate research simply another examination of the student's understanding of his thesis advisor's bias and still afford the rigor and direction necessary to produce meaningful results of generality and relevance? Perhaps the answer to this question will be afforded to the social sciences by those graduate advisors who, in the face of the outrage of their colleagues, free their graduates to do exploratory field work.

FOOTNOTES

1. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, "Where Graduate Schools Fail," The Atlantic, February, 1958, pp. 49-55.

2. Ibid.

3. See Russell Jennings' analysis of Cicero, Illinois and Dennis Winters' analysis of Operation Breadbasket, Chicago, Illinois in the two unpublished dissertations entitled "A Community Action Group's Definition of Urban Tension: A Situational Analysis Through Public Address in Chicago in 1967-68." The results of these two studies are summarized in the following paper presented by Jennings.
   Also see Thomas Pace, Russell Jennings and Dennis Winters, "The Field Study in Urban Tension," a paper presented to the International Conference on General Semantics, Denver, Colorado, August, 1968. In addition, a monograph to be published by Southern Illinois University Press will present an analysis and transcript of the Seminar in Urban Tension held in the Summer of 1968, co-directed by the authors and Thomas Pace under the auspices of the Department of Speech.

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13. For application of this to ethnographic studies, see Dell Hymes, "A Perspective for Linguistic Anthropology," in Horizons of Anthropology (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 92-107.

14. Tomatsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LX (May, 1955). See also C. W. Mills, "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motives," American Sociological Review (December, 1940).

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16. For an enlightening analysis of this point with regard to methodological direction, see I. Chein, "Behavior Theory and The Behavior of Attitudes: Some Critical Comments," Psychological Review, LV (1948), 175-188.

17. See the discussion of "Consensual Accuracy" in Jack Block and Lillian Bennet, "The Assessment of Communication: Perception and Transmission as a Function of the Social Situation," Human Relations, VIII (1955), 317-325 and see Lee Thayer's model of "take-account-abilities and taking-account-susceptibilities" in his book Communications and Communication Systems (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1968).

18. See Odd Ramsoy, Social Groups as System and Subsystem (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1963); also Dennis Winters and Russell Jennings' dissertation cited above, esp. the section on leadership in Chapter 1.

Field Studies in the Urban Situation: Chicago 1967-68

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As discussed by Dennis Winters in his treatise on the methodological considerations of the field study, the ultimate test of field techniques is their capacity to produce valid and reliable data that can be meaningfully interpreted when applied to a particular model. Ideally, the overriding consideration must be for the researcher to create a design that is appropriate to the peculiar exigencies of a problem and situation being examined in situ, as well as the demands of the assumptions and model being applied. This, of course, is not always possible since in many studies of this nature, only a general problem is identifiable initially and further "in depth" in situ investigation is needed before either the scope of the situation or the peculiar characteristics of the problem can be delineated adequately. As is periodically the case in field studies relating to problems and/or situations in their incipient stages of emergence, a model must be created as a contingency of the exploratory operations since no appropriate models are available to explain adequately the interrelationships encountered. Thus, many field researchers must embark on their investigation with only a general focus on a problem, armed with only general assumptions that require refining, and an acknowledged naivete regarding both the situational demands as well as the techniques and procedures needed to facilitate the examination. The field situation, per se, forces the researcher to negotiate a transaction between what is scientifically necessary and what is situationally possible.

In the case of investigating contemporary social-political action,[1] e.g., civil rights confrontation, a major portion of the exploratory research, by necessity, must be conducted in the action field. To attempt to extricate the participants and interactions from their functional setting is to deny, or at least ignore, the impact of societal-environmental factors that, to an extent, determine the particular role definitions of the participants and the characteristics of the interaction. The basic dictum applied here is that "men live...in immediate acts of experience,"[2] and any "examination of 'live-man' must...be in the context of those acts of experience."[3]

Pragmatically, most contemporary organized social-political action takes place in a context of criticality. Since vested interests and established traditions frequently are the object of such action, questions of organizational integrity and individual security become paramount considerations for members of established groups. Likewise, most organized collective efforts emerge in response to either past or anticipated actions within a very limited temporal scope thereby precluding the availability of extensive documentation for "in depth" familiarization with a group's historical operations. Further, the membership of such groups is usually composed of individuals attempting to counteract their own sense of alienation as well as their own desires for instrumental involvement in issues that critically affect their own perceived existence by conjoining in organized groups that hold the potential for beneficial decisive consequences. Finally, since the integrity of the group becomes imperative for the realization of its consensually defined goals and operations, groups engaged in social-political action become objects as well as sources of counteractivity. This means they are frequently caught in the dilemma of confronting without the legal power to do so, while having legitimated sources of influence that frequently emerge in the realm of the extra-legal, and in some extreme cases, the illegal. Thus, the functional field within which research of social-political action must be undertaken, is a maze of interrelationships that operate on both an intra- and inter-organizational basis and that are only fragmentarily documented.

As a case in point, two exploratory field studies were conducted in metropolitan Chicago during 1967-1968[4] in which an effort was made to describe the functional relevancy of public address in attempting to ameliorate tensions created by racial division. Prior to moving into the situational field,[5] a preliminary survey of available informational sources was made in an effort to identify both the significant participants in the racial confrontation as well as the important historical events which might serve to delineate the temporal-spatial field within which the study was to be conducted. After making initial surveys through newspapers and interviews with significant organizational leaders--themselves discovered through the mass media--two target groups were selected for concentrated examination; those being a white backlash group situated in Cicero, Illinois,[6] and a Black economic self-help group in South Chicago.[7] These particular groups were selcted on the basis that (1) they were dealing directly with the issue of racial integration in the urban environment; (2) their respective memberships were sufficiently crystallized to permit the application of the methodology subsequently constructed concomitantly in the tension area itself; (3) both groups were potentially accessible to the investigators, while other groups were restrictive in their cooperativeness; and (4) the target groups had compiled a continual file of sound recordings and related materials pertaining to their meetings, conferences, and transactions to which the investigators could gain access.

During the initial phase of the research, the physical environment was explored in an effort to gain some understanding of the manner in which the community was situated and to locate the sites of specific events that had precipitated subsequent actions instrumental in the emergence and functions of the groups. Likewise, specific individuals--newspaper and television reporters, clergy, leaders of similar organizations, both cooperative and antagonistic, community leaders, and municipal employees who were involved directly with the racial issue in both situations--were interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured with only a limited number of key questions being pursued, but each response was immediately evaluated by the interviewers and further questions were formulated to explore all possible relevant facets of the interviewee's responses. In some instances, it was possible to tape record the interview as it was being conducted, but in the majority the interviewer was forced to rely on his own methods of immediate note-taking and post-interview reconstruction for a complete record of the interaction. In either condition, the researcher always filed a complete impressionalistic report of what had transpired and his impressions of the interview transaction. In many instances, overt and covert reactions of the interviewee during the interviews provided valuable cues for the researcher in pursuing and interpreting both events and held attitudes. Throughout this phase, however, both researchers were constantly aware of the tentativeness of the interactions and made every effort to take full advantage of what proved to be many times the only opportunity for direct interaction with these individuals.

An important factor to be noted is that in many cases antagonists of the target groups were interviewed, but that once instrumental contact was made with the target groups, no further transactions could take place with the antagonists. This rule was scrupulously observed since most social-political action groups depend heavily on elaborate intelligence networks covering even the most remote aspects of the situational environment and detected interaction with an "enemy," no matter what the reason, was to preclude any further cooperation with the target group.

Finally, constant efforts were focused on constructing a mosaic description from the diversity of available information that would constitute a composite impression of the situation within which the target group was central. This operation allowed assessment of those sectors that had been inadvertantly handled in a manner, thereby permitting the acquisition of additional information to insure a constancy of coverage as well as to allow analysis of those respective characteristics of the extra-organizational situation that might account for its peculiarities. Operating from an assumed position of nearly "total situational ignorance" made this rule particularly important since it necessitated a thorough examination of all facets in which nothing was assumed or taken for granted.

Interaction on the situational field periphery, however, was not the total operational responsibility of the researchers here. Coincidentally, the researchers also were constructing a social model from existing theory that provided a basis for explaining and defining what was being observed. Thus, at the terminus of this phase, the assumptions and social model as well as the contextual field had been delineated in preparation for interaction with the target groups, and it was now possible to determine the most productive logistic procedures for engaging with each group in its respective situational field.

Since the principal goal of this project was to examine the functional relevancy of public address operating in a crisis situation, procedural operations were focused on gathering all available recordings of speeches presented by leaders of the target groups and supplementary materials--circulars, pamphlets, and interviews--that would permit the construction of the situational definition as held by the target groups. The held situational definition[8] was deemed central to this examination since it was the fundamental element in discovering what the groups take for granted situationally as well as the manner in which they organized and perceived the situation.[9]

Procedurally, contact with principal personnel in the groups was made by an intermediary, who was a trusted member of the groups and would vouch for the legitimacy of the researchers, as well as by formal letter to the leaders briefly explaining the nature of the project and requesting a meeting at their convenience. Although response to those overtures was not immediate, direct contact was facilitated within a reasonable duration. Immediately prior to these interviews, the researcher attended one or more of the public meetings held by the groups in order to gain some insight into how the groups openly functioned and to provide some immediate informational base for the first meeting with a leader.

During the initial meeting with the leaders, the project and the research significance of the particular group was explained; the request for access to the tape recorded speeches, printed materials, and organizational files was extended and the researcher's willingness to transcribe the recordings, to assist in obtaining information desired by the leader, and to provide any reasonable services to the group, was offered as a contribution. Only a tentative agreement was reached, however, since it was necessary to acquire a "security clearance" by the organization before full agreement could be consummated. Since both groups were instrumental forces situationally, and each was overtly retaliated against periodically for their respective programs, they were essentially closed groups--groups to which access could be gained only by "trustworthy" individuals who could contribute to their operations. Adequate contribution by the researcher was determined fully by what the researchers could do, that the group couldn't afford to do, either financially, politically, or sometimes legally. In this instance, payment was in the form of transcribing recorded tapes, providing gratis copies of those transcriptions, periodic library research, intra-organizational analysis, special types of informant tasks, and direct financial donations. The inclusive basis of the interactions between the group and the research project, however, was strictly utilitarian in nature, and rested, in the majority, on the researchers for its maintenance.

Although the instrumental relationships between the researchers and the target groups operated for only five or six months, efforts were made to insure that the materials gathered covered all issues confronted by the groups during the entire time period designated in the project. Thus, a large amount of material was collected, some of which was not directly usable but which provided important additional impressions relating to the interpretation of pertinent data.

The prodedural tasks demanded by these studies involved (1) surveying the nearly non-existent demographic and ecological materials relating to the general community in which the groups functioned; (2) surveying all available mass media sources for reports of each group's historical operations as well as to gain some insight into the general dimensions of the problem field and to acquire potential "leads"; (3) undertaking frequent interviews with selected individuals considered to be instrumentally related to the groups and their operations; and (4) developing an analytic technique which, when applied to the public communication of the leaders, would yield thematic propositions upon which could be constructed a core definition of their respective situation, as well as provide a perspectival definition of the transactionally mediated role of each leader as he attempted to relate his group to the situational demands and contingencies. The "closedness" of the groups, the virtual absence of demographic and ecological data, and the unreliability of mass media reports, forced the researchers to rely principally upon the recorded speeches, discussions, conferences, and interviews as primary, directly observed data, while the mass media materials and available statistical data were treated only as supplementary--for the elaboration of already well-founded data derived from the primary sources. The principal application of mass media materials, however, was to provide a description of the general historical social-political context in which these groups could be inserted for interpretation. The mass media sources were surveyed covering April, 1966, through May, 1968. Recorded speeches were used covering from January, 1967, through May, 1968. No pertinent demographic or ecological materials were found to encompass this period.

Once the primary data were collected, a method of analysis developed jointly by Winters and Jennings permitted the extraction of the following propositional themes upon which the situational definition would be based.

The analysis was composed of five theme categories and procedurally involved four steps: Step 1--An analysis was made of the speeches of the selected leaders to discover their identification of the situational crisis. Themes were distinguished by their frequency in the speeches. In this context, disequilibrium was defined as the social structure concretely opposing the group he represented. Step 2--A thematic analysis of the leader's speeches concerning the appropriate counteraction was developed. In this context, the counteraction was defined as the explicit calls-to-action made by the leader to confront the opposing social structure. Step 3--A thematic analysis was made of the speeches to determine the leader-perceived predispositions which, if internalized by the target audience, would develop an efficient response to the counteraction. This is the target assumptive theme. Step 4--An analysis of the speeches was conducted to determine the resident and coping assumptive sets. The coping assumptive set was composed of those themes the leader utilized to facilitate the internalization of the situational target assumptive set. The assumptions on the part of the audience, which occasioned the repetition of these coping themes, were then interpreted to define the resident assumptive set.

	Concerned Citizens for Cicero and Berwyn[10]	Operation Breadbasket[11]
Disequilibrium Theme	Forced racial integration relates to the establishment of racial integration through the application of severe social-political pressures by institutional force. (1) Forced integration into Cicero and Berwyn will result in the destruction of the community as it now exists; (2) the integration efforts are being forced by individuals and interests from outside the community who are not acting in the best interests of Cicero and Berwyn; and (3) those elements promoting forced racial integration are attempting to violate the civil rights of the citizenry.	The cause of the slum environment is attributed to the exploitation of capital earnings and leadership potential by an industrial complex singularly motivated toward accumulation of capital based on an ethic of self-interest promoted by corporate-controlled legislation available only to those with a capital power base, and protected by a military establishment who responds to the bureaucracy only as a corporate structure can afford.
Counteraction Themes	(1) By the application of restrictive sanctions in the form of withholding money, withdrawing children from parochial schools, and by boycotting, the churches can be persuaded to withdraw their support from the forced integration programs in Cicero and Berwyn; and (2) by instituting measures of assertive action in the form of sending letters to politicians and clergymen, involvement in community projects sponsored by the C.C.C.B., and membership in the C.C.C.B., the individual can express his demands against the forced integration of Cicero and Berwyn.	(1) Consumer boycotts are to be carried out against ghetto retail stores who discriminate in Negro employment, services, and products; and (2) Negro management, owners of services, and producers will cooperate in an attempt to develop a capital power base.

Target Assumptive Set Themes

(1) Freedom and rights are earned by each individual in a community and cannot be granted by an "outside" institution; (2) people deserving of trust and support, who best serve the interests of the community, are those who have invested concretely in the community; and (3) social power exists in a collective sense of community action possessed by those people invested in the community.

(1) Black people must develop a sense of black consciousness; and (2) black people willing to invest in their black brothers can free themselves and black people; and (3) in a capitalistic society, capital, not influence, is the base for negotiation; and (4) power for the black man in American capitalism lies in his position as a consumer.

Resident Assumptive Set Themes

(1) The churches and those organizations affiliated with them should not be opposed because of their moral, economic, and social power; and (2) the church continually functions for the ultimate best interests of its membership and the community in which it exists; and (3) if one opposes a priest or minister, he is opposing his church, both in principle and in fact; and (4) the sense of community, as found in Cicero and Berwyn, can be safeguarded through internal control; and (5) the Negro has the right to live wherever he wishes only if the law permits him to do so.

(1) All Americans share equally as recipients of the concern by the American government for the individual and collective welfare irrespective of race, color or creed; and (2) Negroes are inferior since, historically, they have demonstrated their natural inability to compete economically with white people; and (3) since both white and black share the same Bible in a Christian nation with its attendant moral structure, and if the power structure is made aware of our suffering or if verbal access to members of the power structure is gained, significant change can occur; and (4) since Negroes are incapable of controlling significant means of production, the best avenue for social status lies in consumption of materials valued by white people; and (5) Negroes are inherently inferior to white people but a measure of success can be gained by material acquisition gained through exploiting individuals over whom has been gained.

Coping Themes

(1) There is no organization or institution too great or powerful to fight if the cause is just; (2) the churches, directly or indirectly, are no longer functioning in behalf of their members or in the best interests of the community; (3) to oppose the people who administer institutions is not to be in opposition to the institution itself--only to be in opposition to the people who administer it; (4) "outside" organizations are subverting the sense of community as found in Cicero and Berwyn; and (5) the Negro has the right to live in a community only if he is acceptable to the community, and not because the law permits him to do so.

(1) America's capitalistic system operates entirely in self-interest with the welfare of people without capital a matter of secondary importance; and (2) America's capitalistic system has placed black people outside of the power structure by cutting off the supply of capital necessary for collective or individual improvement; and (3) America's capitalistic system, by its necessary dependence on capital as motivation, renders moral persuasion and personal concession impotent as means of improvement and redress; and (4) the American capitalistic system destroys the potentiality of power based on a sense of community by imposition of a value system which, in effect, creates a state of economic dependence and, thus, social "unfreedom"; and (5) whiteness is not a worthwhile goal for black people; whiteness represents a value system which is basically sick.

Once the themes were extracted, a situational definition was constructed that reflected the principal concepts being promoted within the speeches and refined commensurate with information derived from the secondary sources. Thus, the situational definitions emerged as the product of each group's perception of the respective situations as well as their respective role involvements in each situational context.

It must be emphasized that this project was only exploratory and that the methods and procedures demand further examination in a variety of situations. Consideration must be given to the development of techniques that permit access to totally closed groups, e.g. extra-legal as well as groups engaged in predominantly illegal actions. The possible application of the computer and data processing procedures when dealing with field study data must be explored. Likewise, consideration must be given to the use of artifacts as possible primary sources of information relating to the interactions of action groups. Finally, university and college curricula must be significantly modified to accommodate the body of knowledge relating to contemporary social-political theory and techniques appropriate to the performance of field research as a viable approach to the study of communication in the modern society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Studies in social-political action is intended here to mean the examination of social function as observed in political behavior. Thus, studies of this nature are aimed at conclusions relating to social theory. For an explanation, see R. W. Jennings, "A Community-Action Group's Definition of Urban Tension: A Situational Analysis of Public Address in Cicero, Illinois, in 1967-1968," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1968; and D. E. Winters, "A Community-Action Group's Definition of Urban Tension: A Situational Analysis of Public Address in Chicago, Illinois, in 1967-1968," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1968.

2. C. Wright Mills. "Situated Actions and Vocabulary of Motive," American Sociological Review, December, 1940.

3. Ibid.

4. Jennings, also Winters.

5. Situation is defined here as referring to a particular interact field within which relevant self-other patterns arise as dynamic relationships in response to interpersonal tension. (F. Fearing, "Toward a Psychological Theory of Human Communication," in Interpersonal Communication: Surveys and Studies, edited by D. C. Barnlund [Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1968], 32-34.) It is also "a unique constellation of events and processes which is unduplicable when once passed." (Gardner Murphy, ed., Studies in Leadership [New York: Harper and Bros., 1950], 37.)

6. This was the Concerned Citizens for Cicero and Berwyn, led by John Pellegrini, and one of the white backlash, anti-integration citizen's action groups in the Chicago area.

7. This was Operation Breadbasket, led by Rev. Jesse Jackson, and is a black economic self-help organization sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

8. Situation definition refers to the system of expected "other" responses aroused in a given personality by a given situation. (L.S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Analysis of Situational Fields in Social Psychology," in Barnlund, 387).

9. As explained by Etzioni, "if people define situations as real, whether or not they are, their behavior will be altered (not determined, but affected by the interpretation); and, "we do not suggest, however, that a person's definition of the situation is totally unrelated to the reality of the situation." (Amatai Etzioni, The Active Society [Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1968], 28.)

10. Jennings.

11. Winters.

The "Natural Experiment" as a Research Methodology for the Study of Speech-Communication

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The romance between the empirical scholar in Speech-Communication and the laboratory experiment is beginning to show signs of strain. The results of overcommitment to a single research approach are now beginning to be recognized by the field. Several prominent empirical scholars apparently believe that the laboratory experiment can make but one kind of contribution and that various types of field research may hold considerable promise for the immediate future of Speech-Communication.[1]

This is not to say that empirical scholars in the field have lost all faith in the laboratory experiment, for most of them will continue to use it as their primary mode of data collection. In general terms, experimental laboratory research is superior to field research when it comes to testing rather specific relationships between variables of extant communication theory. The laboratory experiment is capable of making careful distinctions and of studying very discrete variables. It can produce studies with high internal validity, but must sacrifice some external validity due to the "artificial" conditions under which it is conducted.

On the other hand, field research is somewhat more capable of generating new theories and models and of discovering new variables relevant to existing theories and models. Variables discovered in the laboratory must be tested in a field environment in order to determine their strength when competing with a host of other naturally occurring phenomena. However, the field researcher sacrifices some internal validity for additional external validity. Because of the naturalistic setting in which field research is conducted, researchers cannot control or manipulate all known sources of variance. Consequently, accurate causal inferences are more difficult in the field than in the laboratory, and yet, it is the natural setting which gives the results considerably more generalizability.

This paper represents an attempt to define and to provide an example of a type of field research which has the potential of retaining considerable internal validity while taking full advantage of the generalizability inherent in research conducted in natural settings. This mode of research has been called the "natural experiment."

In the "Report of Workshop F: Field Studies," the "natural experiment" was defined as a study in which the researcher specifies in advance the variables he wishes to observe, states hypotheses concerning the relationships among these variables, and, without manipulation, measures their interaction in a natural setting. This definition is an attempt to differentiate the "natural experiment"

The authors wish to express their thanks to Douglas Bock for his contribution to the planning and execution of the research discussed here, to Joe Stearns for his aid in the collection of data, to Theodore Clevenger, Jr. for his contribution to the development of the measuring instrument, to Paul Eggers, the 1968 Texas Republican gubernatorial candidate, for allowing us to study his campaign, and to the Office of Research and Projects at Southern Illinois University for its support of this project.

from the laboratory experiment and the field experiment in terms of the amount of control the experimentalist exercises over the major variables in the study. In the "natural experiment" there is an independent variable (or variables) and a dependent variable (or variables). The independent variable is not manipulated by the researcher but is, as it were, subject to "manipulation" by the forces operative in the natural setting. The dependent variable is, conceptually, much the same as it is in the laboratory experiment. It is the effect in the assumed cause-effect sequence and is operationally defined and measured.*

This definition is also designed to differentiate the "natural experiment" from the field study which usually does not involve strict predefinition of variables, hypothesis testing, and the use of quantitative techniques of data collection.

In September of 1968, we began a series of "natural experiments" involving the public oral communication of the Republican candidate for Governor in Texas, Paul Eggers. From early September until the election in November, at least one member of a three-man research team traveled with the candidate and his staff. The principal purpose of our research was to determine the impact of the candidate's public speaking on his image. All of Mr. Eggers' public oral communication during the period under study was recorded on audio tape. The study included several independent "subject" variables such as sex, political party affiliation, presidential preference, age, and prior exposure to the candidate. We were interested, among other things, in the extent to which "subject" variables such as these interact with message content to produce changes in candidate image. A nine-scale semantic differential was developed especially for the study and was used as the measure of the dependent variable, candidate image.

The subjects for the study were chosen from nineteen audiences before whom the candidate spoke. These audiences were reasonably representative of the groups to whom the candidate spoke during the final, crucial six weeks of the campaign. We utilized the classic pretest-posttest design, the audience taking a pretest just prior to the candidate's being introduced and a posttest at the end of the question and answer period.

The remainder of this paper discusses some of the problems of involvement, measurement, design and methodology encountered in the planning and execution of the study. These difficulties do not appear to be unique to our experience in Texas, nor to the empirical study of political speaking in general. Similar difficulties would be likely to appear in one form or another in most attempts to apply experimental techniques to the study of naturally occurring phenomena.

Since one of the researchers knew the candidate personally, this allowed us to propose the study to him, explain what it would entail and show how the research and the researchers could aid the campaign while collecting data which would be of value to Speech-Communication. After discussions with the candidate and various influential members of his staff, it was decided that the research team would travel with the campaign staff at the campaign's expense. In return, we agreed to report occasionally our impressions of the data we were collecting and to utilize our background in oral communication to help the candidate prepare his speeches.

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*In the "natural experiment" there may or may not be a formal comparison between treatment and non-treatment groups. The method precludes formal comparisons in the strict sense of experimental vs. control group. Imaginative design can, however, build in a type of control group which will aid the researcher in drawing valid causal inferences.

This agreement reached with the candidate and his staff illustrates our dilemma. In order to gain access to the data we had to compromise, in one sense, the value of the data. In order to obtain sufficient support and cooperation from the candidate and the staff it was necessary for us to become involved with the process we were studying and, perhaps, to influence that process. There was no middle ground. We either went to Texas on the terms specified and did this study, and a related one involving the reportage of the candidate's speeches by the Texas press, or we remained in the protective cloister of the University campus. Our decision was to do the research, lending our expertise to the candidate, taking every precaution possible to keep our involvement with the campaign from contaminating our results.

We knew that the bias of involvement could flow in two directions. We could be influenced by the process and the man we were studying to the point that it would be difficult to interpret objectively our data. On the other hand, the bias of our involvement could flow in the direction of the candidate. Our advice could affect his speechmaking and, consequently, the outcome of our research. That this would happen to one degree or another was predetermined by the nature of the agreement we had reached with the candidate and his staff. In a sense, we had agreed to be a contaminating variable in our own study.

How did we attempt to deal with this dilemma? The problem of being influenced by the man we were studying was relatively easy to solve. We decided to develop, in advance of our arrival in Texas, a definition of the variables we were going to study, the general direction of our research, a few key hypotheses, a valid and unobtrusive measuring device, and the general pattern of the design and procedures that would be used in each data-gathering session. We also specified in advance the statistical methods to be used in the analysis of the data. In other words, we attempted to develop research machinery which would be set in motion upon our arrival and would continue to function regardless of our involvement with the business of the campaign.

Bias flowing from the researchers in the direction of the man and the events being studied was a much more difficult matter. There is, in fact, no entirely satisfactory solution to this problem. As Rosenthal[2] has demonstrated, even the most carefully controlled laboratory experiment may be contaminated by experimenter bias. So, let us admit at the outset that our presence did, we feel, have some impact on the candidate and his speeches. In this admission, have we destroyed any scholarly value that our extensive study might have? We think not. It is not unusual for candidates to hire advisors to travel with them for the purpose of advising them on their speaking. In practically every major state or national campaign, someone, either officially or unofficially, aids the candidate in the preparation of his speeches and gives him feedback on his oral performances.

The need for speech writers and advisors was particularly apparent in the Eggers' campaign. No one claimed, least of all the candidate, that he was an accomplished public speaker. Most of his oral communication experience had been in courts of law, and in small groups. Thus, if the research team had not provided some help along these lines someone else would have. The presence of speech writers and advisors was not, per se, a major contaminate.

But what about the agreement we had made to report occasionally our research findings to the candidate and his staff? Could not this information influence the natural order of the process we were studying? Indeed, it could, and to some extent it probably did. However, the extent to which we reported on our day-by-day findings was sharply limited by the speed with which the campaign moved and by our inability to do sophisticated statistical analysis of the data while traveling. Only our most general impressions of the data were communicated during the conduct of the study.

However, the impact of researcher bias on the study is one of the least important reasons why our results are limited in their generalizability. There were many characteristics of the Eggers campaign which made it unique and which had some effect on the candidate's public speaking. For example, before his campaign was launched, Mr. Eggers had no public image. He had never before run for public office and yet he was seeking the highest office in one of our largest states. Moreover, the campaign was conducted during a year in which there was a hotly contested presidential race in Texas. This competitiveness, in our judgment, reduced the effectiveneas of some of Mr. Eggers' speeches. This list of characteristics unique to the Eggers campaign could be extended indefinitely, just as could a similar list for any campaign we might have studied in 1968 or any other year! If the candidate's speechmaking was in any way influenced by the few instances during the campaign in which we gave him general impressions of our data, it was a miniscule influence compared to the other unique forces which were operative. The results of our study cannot be generalized to all such campaigns for reasons quite apart from the effects of "experimenter bias." Neither can the results of the best laboratory experiment be generalized to all similar "real life" situations. Some take the position that the best laboratory experiment can never be validly generalized to any similar "real life" situation.[3] Our claim is more modest. In spite of the limitations on the general applicability of our results in the Texas study, they remain more generalizable than would be the results of a comparable study conducted in the laboratory. The independent variables were forced to compete with a host of other variables such as selective exposure, selective perception, selective recall, and normal social interaction. Experiments conducted in natural settings are inherently more generalizable to other natural settings than are studies conducted in the laboratory.

The point to this rather lengthy discussion of experimenter-induced bias is that the presence of researchers must be taken into account in the assessment of all research, both laboratory and field. Gone is the day when empirical scholars can blithely assume that they are passive receptacles and transmitters of knowledge. We would not, however, wish to give the impression that the "natural experiment" is uniquely, or inherently vulnerable to this difficulty. In fact, one can conceive "natural experiments" wherein there need be no contact between the major participants in the event being studied and the researchers. In future studies of the speaking of political candidates necessitating interaction between the researchers and the candidate, experimenter bias could be built into the study as an independent variable. Careful notes could be taken on the nature and extent of the involvement between the researchers and the candidate. Ex post facto analysis of the data might reveal the extent to which "experimenter bias" had influenced the data.

Another problem we encountered was the need to create a valid measuring device which would also be as unobtrusive as possible. The inability of the researcher to control and manipulate the variables under observation in no way affects the need for valid measurement. In fact, it could be argued that the development of a measurement device for a "natural experiment" is even more difficult than for a laboratory experiment. In a "natural experiment," one cannot choose his subjects. Although he may be able to make some predictions about his subjects, the researcher accepts whoever comes to the event under study. Thus, his instrument must be very robust, accommodating a diversity of individuals. Since all subjects cannot be assumed to be as literate as the college sophomores usually utilized in laboratory experiments, the instructions for the use of the instrument must be brief and clear. We reminded ourselves often during our study of the Texas gubernatorial candidate that he was staging the campaign in order to win the office and not solely for the benefit of our research. Speaking events were important to his candidacy and could not be seriously interrupted by our data-gathering activities. (Given "captive" or "bought" subjects for his research, the laboratory experimentalist sometimes fails to recognize the extent to which his data gathering is resented or is at least regarded as an inconvenience by his subjects.) Even if it had been possible to disturb the continuity of these events, obtrusively imposing ourselves and our measuring instruments on the natural order of events, it would have reduced the value of our research. One goes into the field so that he can study events in their natural environment. He should, therefore, keep his interference to a minimum.

In an attempt to create both a valid and an unobtrusive measuring device, we began in April of 1968 a process of development. Mr. Eggers came to the SIU campus where we made a series of video tapes of his speeches and of his oral behavior in an interview setting. We then played these tapes to groups of students asking them to make open-ended comments on their impressions of Eggers. From these interviews we developed a 45 scale semantic differential which we used as a pretest and posttest on four additional groups of graduate and undergraduate students who viewed and/or heard Eggers speak. From these 45 scales we selected 10 scales which we took to Texas and pretested on a Texas audience. After this series of pretesting procedures, we had a nine-scale differential which was, in our judgment, robust enough to measure changes in Eggers' image for the population which he appeared to be concentrating on during the campaign, i.e., the fairly well educated middle and upper middle class Texan.

Another difficulty we encountered was the problem of the non-respondent. The experimentalist in the laboratory is confronted with a similar problem when he must rely upon volunteer subjects. Empirical evidence, and common sense, suggest that college students who volunteer for experiments, even under mild duress, are different in some important ways from the student population in general.[4] They may, for example, be more highly motivated and more intelligent. The "natural" experimentalist faces a somewhat similar problem, arising from a different circumstance.

Since all of the subjects for a "natural experiment" are self-selected, they are all volunteers. In the case of the Texas study, all subjects included themselves in the study by being present at one of Eggers' speeches. Again, one suspects, people who come to hear candidates speak are different from the general population in that they may be more politically aware, better informed generally, etc. This is not as much of a problem for the "natural" experimentalist, as it is for the laboratory experimentalist because the "natural" experimentalist defines his population parameters in a manner which takes the natural selectivity of his subjects into account. In fact, one of the reasons for doing a "natural experiment" is so that one can study subjects who are drawn into a natural event, such as the speech of a political candidate. The natural experimenter does not need to generalize beyond his volunteer subjects because their "volunteerness" is an important part of his study--a natural occurrence. This is not the case for the laboratory experimentalist who is studying volunteer subjects in an attempt to learn something about other populations. In this case, the "volunteerness" of his subjects is contrived for the purposes of the study.

The volunteer subjects of the natural experiment are, however, a mixed blessing. Subjects who come to a "real event," such as a political speech, rather than to a "pseudo event," such as a communication experiment, have expectations which do not include the presence of researchers and measurement devices. Thus, if the researcher does not exercise great care, a further self-selection process will occur during the event under study. Some subjects will cooperate with the researchers by providing the desired information and others will not. If a substantial number of those who are chosen as subjects will not faithfully participate in the study, the external validity of the study has been reduced.

In the Texas Project we were not fully prepared to deal with this problem. Having most of our research experience in the laboratory where a high percentage of subjects "cooperate," we did not anticipate the relatively large percentage of non-respondents which we encountered in the first audience from which we gathered data. We reduced this percentage by a clarification of the instructions for completing the semantic differential. At very best, however, we were still missing data from approximately 20% of our subjects.

Due to the speed at which the campaign entourage moved and our own late recognition of the significance of this problem, we were unable to study systematically the non-respondents. However, preliminary analysis of the fragmentary data produced by some subjects and brief interviews with some non-respondents suggest that, in spite of our best efforts, some did not understand the instructions and that others were less friendly to the candidate than were the respondents. The results of the semantic differential pretest of the candidate's image is probably somewhat inflated and, perhaps, so are the posttest results.

The point to be made here, however, is this problem need not be a problem--or at least not a very significant one. If one works out measurement devices which inspire little or no hostility to the concept or person studied, carefully pretests his instructions along with his measurement devices, and assumes the proper role in the data-gathering sessions, he can minimize the number of non-respondents. With relatively few non-respondents, it is less difficult to determine their characteristics and, therefore, to determine the extent to which they affect the generalizability of the study.

Another decision which had to be made prior to our first encounter with our subjects concerned the role we would assume during data-gathering sessions. We knew that we should adopt a defensible role which could be briefly communicated to our subjects and maintained throughout the entire project. Switching our role from one data-gathering session to another would have an undesirable impact on the data. We considered two alternatives.

One of us could simply go to the microphone prior to Mr. Eggers' speech, indicating that we're from the Center for Communications Research, Southern Illinois University, explaining that we're studying the speechmaking of the candidate, and ask for cooperation. We favored this approach because not only was it candid, but it also gave us control of the exact language used to introduce the research to the subjects. It also had the virtue of allowing the subjects to respond on the semantic differential to an "objective" group functioning independently of the political contest. This we thought might produce more candid responses from the subjects.

However, when we talked this matter over with members of the campaign staff and others, we were told that this role might be resented by some members of the audiences we were going to study. Some of our subjects, we were told, might wonder why we were in Texas studying a candidate for governor while there was a similar race being run in Illinois. Others thought that the presence of a "yankee" research team on the campaign trail in Texas might be resented by some of our subjects as well as by some local Republican politicians. (If this notion seems a little ridiculous, it should be remembered that one of the sub rosa issues in the campaign was the fact that Mr. Eggers was not a native Texan. He had been born in Indiana, but had spent all of his adult life in the state of Texas.) Finally, there was some fear, more on the part of the researchers than the campaign staff, that by being candid and, therefore conspicuous, we would be asked more questions about our project, and might, via the press, be used against the candidate. We could envision an opposition newspaper getting hold of the study and blowing our presence all out of proportion.

The other alternative we considered was to have one of the members of the campaign staff introduce the project as though it were being conducted by the campaign, and call for cooperation on that basis. We rejected this notion because it was less candid than we wished to be and because it would involve giving an important aspect of our data-gathering function to an already overworked campaign staff.

The role we finally adopted was characteristic of many of the other decisions we made during the conduct of research. It was a compromise between the ideal, from our research point of view, and the dictates of political reality. We decided to avoid undue attention to our presence by the mention of our institutional affiliation. We further decided to solicit the aid of the person who was to introduce the candidate to his group. We would explain very briefly the project and ask him to read a prepared passage from a card which would alert the audience and call for their cooperation. The message on the card simply said:

> You have been given a questionnaire concerning Paul Eggers. I would like to ask you to give full cooperation to this special project. Please fill out the questionnaire both before and after Paul Eggers speaks. When the meeting is over, just leave the completed questionnaire at your seat. Thank you very much.

The same person was to remind the audience to complete the posttest part of the questionnaire after the candidate's speech.

This role, we thought, had the advantage of being direct. It avoided, as far as possible, the raising of potentially embarrassing political questions, and had the important advantage of utilizing the credibility of some influential member of the audience as the person making the request for cooperation. However, on at least one of these counts, it did not work out quite as well as we had planned. The persons who agreed to perform this task sometimes forgot to call for the completion of the posttest. Thus, we lost some posttest data that we might have gained via another approach.

In this paper we have attempted to define an alternative to the laboratory experiment in Speech-Communication. We have contended that the "natural experiment" holds considerable promise because it has the potential of retaining some of the internal validity of the laboratory experiment while taking advantage of the external validity gained by research conducted in a natural setting. We have not claimed that our application of the method in the study of political communication in Texas is a model to be emulated. It is rather a lesson from which to learn. Nor have we contended that the "natural experiment" ought to replace the laboratory experiment. Although alike in many respects, the two methods are essentially different, and they can make different, complementary contributions to the future development of Speech-Communication.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Among those who have recently called for more emphasis on field research are: Samuel L. Becker, "Toward An Appropriate Theory for Contemporary Speech-Communication," in David H. Smith, ed., What Rhetoric (Communication Theory) is Appropriate for Contemporary Speech Communication, Proceedings of the University of Minnesota Symposium, 1969. Gerald R. Miller, "Human Information Processing: Some Research Guidelines," and Theodore Clevenger, Jr., "Research Methodologies in Speech-Communication," in Robert J. Kibler and Larry L. Barker, eds., Conceptual Frontiers in Speech-Communication: Report of the New Orleans Conference on Research and Instructional Development (New York: Speech Association of America, 1968).

[2] Robert Rosenthal, Experimenter Effects in Behavioral Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966).

[3] Jack B. Haskins, How To Evaluate Mass Communications, Monograph (Advertising Research Foundations, Inc., 1968).

[4] Robert Rosenthal, "The Volunteer Subject," Human Relations, XVIII, (1965), 389-406.

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General Works

Ahmaan, Mathen, ed. The New Negro. Indiana: Fides Publishers, 1961. Text includes a collection of essays dealing with the general topic of Negro protest. The most valuable section, however, is the transcript of a T.V. symposium broadcast in New York in 1961. Participants included James Baldwin, L. Hansberry, Langston Hughes, and other lesser known Negro figures. Topic: "The Negro In American Culture."

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 357 (January, 1965). Aside from the excellent introduction by Arnold Rose, "The American Negro Problem in the Context of Social Change," the book is valuable for the following essays: John A. Morsell, "The NAACP and Its Strategy"; Whitney M. Young, Jr., "The Urban League and Its Strategy"; Leslie W. Dunbar, "The Southern Regional Council"; Marvin Rich, "CORE and Its Strategy"; and a concluding essay by James H. Lave, "The Changing Character of the Negro Protest."

Barbour, Floyd B., ed. The Black Power Revolt. Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1968. Author has collected speeches and essays to support the idea that black power has long been a part of Negro history. He defines black power as the Negroes' struggle for definition and liberation. Although he has a section on the early spokesmen, i.e., Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey, the most valuable part of the book is Part II where he includes speeches and writings by the following men: Stokely Carmichael, LeRoi Jones, Floyd McKissick, Adam Clayton Powell, Malcolm X, and several lesser figures. Barbour also includes a much needed bibliography of periodicals that contain discussions of black power.

Bardolph, Richard. The Negro Vanguard. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1959. Text contains a lengthy essay based on the author's personal interviews with 130 "Negro leaders"--in particular the old-guard leaders such as Randolph, Young, King, and Powell.

Bennett, Lerone, Jr. Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1966. A general history of the black American. The author dwells on the history of the early period up to reconstruction. He includes a well-written chapter "From Booker T. Washington to Martin Luther King, Jr.". Volume also contains a chronology of significant dates in Afro-American history. Good bibliography.

Bennett, Lerone, Jr. Confrontation: Black and White. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1965. Author interprets civil rights movement. He also includes a large section on King and a lengthy discussion of sit-ins, freedom rides and marches, and other forms of protest. Extensive bibliography.

Brink, William J. and Louis Harris. Black and White. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967. This book is based on a comparison of the 1963 and 1966 Newsweek poll of racial attitudes in the United States. There are many tables and statistics. The book is more valuable for the data presented than for the analysis, which tends to be superficial. (Note: In July, 1969, Newsweek published another study of racial attitudes as a follow-up to these earlier polls.)

Broderick, Francis L. and August Meier, eds. *Negro Protest Thought in the 20th Century*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965. An excellent source book. The volume contains writings or speeches by the following Negro spokesmen: Washington, Du Bois, Garvey, Randolph, Hughes, Marshall, Wilkins, Young, King, Rustin, as well as a debate between Malcolm X and James Farmer.

Brotz, Howard, ed. *Negro Social and Political Thought 1850-1920*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1957. A good documentary history of Negro movements--particular emphasis on early period America. The last half of the book deals with Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey.

Clark, Kenneth B. *The Negro Protest*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1963. Clark relates his interview with James Baldwin on May 24, 1963--the same day as Baldwin's well-publicized meeting with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Clark also relates his interviews with Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Clayton, Edward T. *The Negro Politician: His Success and Failure*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1964. Author discusses the shortcomings of the Negro politician from reconstruction to current times. He devotes a great deal of analysis to Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

Cruse, Harold. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1967. An excellent history of the Negro intelligentsia. Cruse examines the Negro intellectuals as a class--a class he feels is "functionally impoverished because it lacks continuity with its cultural, creative, and ideological antecedents." He spends much time examining the clash between nationalism and integration. He provides a good deal of information about the Harlem Rennaisance.

Daniel, Bradford. *Black, White, and Grey*. New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1964. The author has collected material from 21 leading spokesmen in both camps regarding the race question. He provides a brief biographical sketch before each text. Included in the volume are the following texts: Roy Wilkins, "What the American Negro Wants"; Orval Faubus, "Address to the Illinois Press Association"; Ross R. Barnett, "Address to the Harvard Law School"; George Wallace, "Inaugural Address"; and, James Baldwin, "Disturbers of the Peace: An Interview."

Davis, John P., ed. *The American Negro Reference Book*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966. A virtual "Who's Who" in the Negro community. The book is a collection of articles by 22 scholars of Negro cultural, political, and social history. A good general reference book. No bibliography but extensive footnotes.

Ebony Editors. *The White Problem In America*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1966. A collection of reprints from a special issue of *Ebony*: Whitney Young, Jr., "The High Cost of Discrimination"; Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Un-Christian Christian"; and James Baldwin, "Unnamable Objects, Unspeakable Crimes." Also several lesser-known writers.

Embree, Edwin R. *13 Against the Odds*. New York: The Viking Press, 1945. Volume contains biographical sketches of 13 "successful" Negro leaders. Author includes sketch of Du Bois as well as one on A. Philip Randolph.

Fishel, Leslie H., Jr. and Benjamin Quarles. The Negro American: A Documentary History. Illinois: Scott Foresman and Company, 1967. A valuable collection of basic documents in Afro-American history. Contains essays, speech texts, and court decisions related to the Negroes' struggle for equal rights.

Grant, Joanne. Black Protest. New York: Fawcett World Library, 1968. Excellent source book. The author has compiled a significant sample of black rhetoric related to the major civil rights issues from 1916 to 1968. Aside from documents related to court cases, sit-ins, freedom rides and marches, the author includes many texts of documents and speeches prepared by black leaders: W.E.B. Du Bois, "Close Ranks"; Booker T. Washington, "Atlanta Address"; Marcus Garvey, "The Philosophy of Garveyism"; Langston Hughes, "The Formation of the NAACP"; A. Philip Randolph, "The March on Washington"; Martin Luther King, Jr., "Nonviolence and the Montgomery Boycott"; James Farmer, "The New Jacobins and Full Emancipation"; Roy Wilkins, "Voting Rights Act of 1965"; Stokely Carmichael, "Black Power"; Bayard Rustin, "Black Power and Coalition Politics"; and, Malcolm X, "At the Audubon."

Hill, Roy. Rhetoric of Racial Revolt. Denver: Golden Bell Press, 1964. A useful anthology for the study of black rhetoric. He includes speech texts by the following orators: Washington, Garvey, Randolph, Hughes, Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad, Baldwin, King, Marshall, and other lesser-known figures.

Isaacs, Harold R. The New World of Negro Americans. New York: The John Day Company, 1963. A basic history of the Negro-American. The book is useful for its chapter on Garvey, "Back to Africa."

Katz, William Loren. Eyewitness: The Negro In American History. New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967. A basic history of the Negro in America. Text begins with the opening of the New World and the slave trade. Volume contains texts of speeches by Washington, Du Bois, Garvey, Malcolm X, Langston Hughes, King, Bunche, and others.

Killian, Lewis and Charles Grigg. Racial Crisis in America: Leadership In Crisis. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964. A general overview of the Negro's social and economic status. Book contains a useful section on the changing leadership among Negro protest leaders in the South. The concluding chapter deals with "Tokenism--Too Little, Too Late." Many references to NAACP, CORE, and Muslims.

Lewis, Antony and The New York Times. Portrait of a Decade. New York: Random House, 1964. Concise history of the civil rights movement between the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1964. A good, clear chronology of events.

Lincoln, C. Eric. Sounds of the Struggle: Persons and Perspectives In Civil Rights. New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1967. Great deal of emphasis on Black Muslim movement. Chapter on Malcolm X as well as an interesting section on the Negro image and stereotype. Author explores the role of the Southern Negro preacher and discusses the problem of Negro identity.

Logan, Rayford, ed. What the Negro Wants. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. An early collection of essays by several prominent Negro spokesmen. Editor includes a brief biographical sketch about each contributor. Those included in the volume: Du Bois, Wilkins, Randolph, Hughes, and other lesser figures. The volume gives a good sample of the rhetoric of Negro leadership during the Second World War.

Lomax, Louis. *The Negro Revolt*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967. A journalistic account of the major groups, leaders, and events of the civil rights movement. A section on the historical background of the civil rights movement. The book provides good discussion of the events of the 1950's and early 1960's. Lomax discusses the conflict between the old-line Urban League and NAACP, and the new militant movement composed of CORE and SNCC.

Marx, Gary T. *Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief In The Black Community*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967. Volume contains a foreword by Bayard Rustin. Study attempts to reflect the black community's attitude toward various black leaders and movements, as well as their perception of the black's role in politics, education, etc. The book contains several correlation studies reflecting the psychological make-up of militants. Volume also contains a chapter on the psychology of black religion.

Meier, August and Elliot M. Rudwick. *From Plantation to Ghetto*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1966. Good interpretative history. Authors briefly discuss the roles of the National Urban League, NAACP, SNCC, and CORE--focusing on the relationship between these groups. Volume contains a good annotated bibliography.

Miller, Abie. *The Negro and the Great Society*. New York: Vintage Press, 1965. Author discusses the economics of the Afro-American in historical terms. Author includes a survey of the Negro economy from reconstruction through the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Murphy, Raymond and Howard Elingson. *Problems and Prospectives of the Negro Movement*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966. A good source book. Contains material by the following men: Whitney Young, Jr., "Should there be 'Compensation' for Negroes?"; E. U. Essien-Udom, "The Appeals and Challenges of the Black Nationalist Movement"; Martin Oppenheimer, "The Civil Rights Movement in American History"; and Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement."

Nolaw, William A. *Communism v. The Negro*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1951. Author discusses the strategies used by the American Communist Party to win support of American Negro organizations. Particular emphasis is given to the communist influence from 1919 to early 1950's.

Parson, Talcott and Kenneth B. Clark. *The Negro American*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. An edited collection of essays by prominent Negro historians and social scientists. Good section on identity by Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity." Also contains an article by Eric H. Erickson, "The Concept of Identity in Race Relations." Also, an excellent summary of the history of several Negro organizations by Kenneth B. Clark and an essay by Whitney Young, Jr., "Who has the Revolution or Thoughts on the Second Reconstruction."

Rose, Arnold M., ed. *Assuring Freedom to the Free*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964. A general background of the Afro-American's history. Good section on "Social Movements Among American Negroes." This section contains an essay by Whitney Young on "Civil Rights Action and the Urban League," as well as an essay by C. Eric Lincoln on "The Black Muslims as a Protest Movement."

Silberman, Charles E. *Crisis in Black and White*. New York: Vintage Books, 1964. Good chapter on "The Problem of Identity." No bibliography.

Thonssen, Lester. Representative American Speeches. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company (published yearly). The following volumes contain texts of speeches by black speakers:

- Vol. 39, No. 5 (1967)--Edward W. Brooke and Whitney M. Young, Jr.
- Vol. 38, No. 4 (1966)--Edward W. Brooke
- Vol. 36, No. 4 (1964)--Roy Wilkins
- Vol. 26, No. 3 (1954)--Thurgood Marshall
- Vol. 22, No. 3 (1950)--Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

Quarles, Benjamin. The Negro in the Making of America. New York: Collier Books, 1964. A good, inexpensive paperback history of the Afro-American.

Warren, Robert Penn. Who Speaks for the Negro? New York: Random House, 1965. Excellent source. Warren writes a narrative account of his personal interviews with many black leaders. His questions are probing and revealing. His interviews include: Charles Evers, Powell, Wilkins, Young, Forman, Farmer, King, Rustin, Malcolm X, Baldwin, and Stokely Carmichael.

Waskow, Arthur I. From Race-Riot to Sit-In 1919-1960. Garden City, New York, 1966. A paperback history of the Afro-American's struggle for civil rights. Waskow focuses on several of the major civil rights riots and studies them in detail. He also examines the strategies of sit-ins, freedom rides, and marches. Good bibliography.

Westin, Alan E., ed. Freedom Now! The Civil Rights Struggle in America. An anthology of documents, interviews, and essays prepared by leading black spokesmen. It includes works by James Baldwin, King, Lomax, Wilkins, Young, Farmer, Forman, Malcolm X, A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin.

Wish, Harvey. The Negro Since Emancipation. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. Volume contains a brief introduction outlining the role of Negro men and organizations after the reconstruction period. It contains biographical sketches and speeches or essays by the following men: Douglass, Washington, Du Bois, Bunche, Ellison, King, Randolph, Baldwin, Hughes, and Elijah Muhammed.

Selected Readings: Black Orators and Movements

I. Booker T. Washington

Brigance, William Norwood, ed. A History and Criticism of American Public Address. Vol. I. New York: Russell and Russell, 1960. Volume contains Karl Wallace's study of Washington's rhetoric.

Cox, Oliver C. "Leadership of Booker T. Washington." Social Forces, October, 1951, pp. 91-7. Author attempts to describe and assess Washington's leadership within the context of the social forces operating during his era. Well-documented.

Hawkins, Hugh, ed. Booker T. Washington and His Critics: The Problem of Negro Leadership. Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1962. Text contains several essays that approach Washington's leadership from several perspectives. This paperback is a part of the Heath series on Problems of American Institutions.

Meier, August. *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1963.

———. "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press." *Journal of Negro History*, XXXVIII (January, 1953), 67-90. Article indicates that Washington achieved control of press by a variety of methods. Article details Washington's support of the *Colored American Magazine*.

———. "Negro Class Structure and Ideology in the Age of Booker T. Washington." *Phylon*, (Fall, 1962), 258-66.

———. "Toward a Reinterpretation of Booker T. Washington." *Journal of Negro History*, XXIII (May, 1967), 220-27.

Riley, B. F. *The Life and Times of Booker T. Washington.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1916.

Scott, Emmett J. and Lyman Beecher Stowe. *Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1916.

Thornbrough, Emma L. "More Light on Booker T. Washington and the *New York Age*." *Journal of Negro History*, XLIII (January, 1958), 34-50.

Walden, Daniel. "The Contemporary Opposition to the Political Ideals of Booker T. Washington." *Journal of Negro History*, XLV (January, 1960), 103-116. Article discusses the Washington-Du Bois dispute as well as the reaction of the Negro press and other Negro leaders to the Washington Machine.

Washington, Booker T. *The Future of the American Negro.* Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1902.

———. *Up From Slavery.* (Available in numerous paperback editions.)

Washington, E. D., ed. *Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1932.

Also see the following sources listed in "General Works" for material on Washington: Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America*; Broderick and Meier; Howard Brotz; Joanne Grant; Roy Hill; William L. Katz; and Harvey Wish.

II. W.E.B. Du Bois

Aptheker, Herbert. "Du Bois on Douglass." *Journal of Negro History*, XLIV. (October, 1964), 264-66. A complete text of a speech by Du Bois on March 9, 1895 at Wilberforce University--a memorial address praising Frederick Douglass.

Broderick, Francis. *W.E.B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis.* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1959. A sophisticated study of Du Bois during the early period of his life--particular emphasis is given to his role in the Niagara Movement, the Talented Tenth, the NAACP, and his role as editor of the *Crisis*. Good bibliography.

Chaffee, Mary L. "W.E.B. Du Bois' Concept of the Racial Problem in the United States." Journal of Negro History, XLI (July, 1956), 241-59. A contrast between Du Bois' long-range philosophy of education and Washington's short-range plan. Article discusses Du Bois as a protest leader. Well-documented.

Du Bois, W.E.B. Autobiography. n.p.: International Publishers, 1968. A massive and impressive volume that provides valuable insights into the Niagara Movement, the NAACP, as well as the Du Bois-Washington dispute. This autogiography deals with the latter part of Du Bois' life and is perhaps the most comprehensive work on Du Bois.

__________. "Behold the Land." New Masses, January 14, 1947, pp. 18-20. Article contains a text of an address delivered at the meeting of Southern Negro Youth held in 1946 at Columbia, South Carolina.

__________. "The Economic Aspects of Racial Prejudice." Editorial Review, May, 1910, pp. 488-93. Text of an address to the New York City Republican Club, March 5, 1910.

__________. "Education and Work." Howard University Bulletin, IX (January, 1933), 17-20. Text of commencement address delivered at Howard University on June 6, 1931.

__________. "Jacob and Esau." Talladegan, November, 1944, pp. 1-6. Text of commencement address at Talladegan College on June 5, 1944.

__________. The Soul of Black Folks. New York: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1953. This brief volume contains Du Bois' indictment of Booker T. Washington's educational philosophy.

__________. "The American Negro in My Time." Masses and Mainstream, March, 1956, pp. 1-9.

__________. "Negroes and the Crisis of Capitalism in the U.S." Monthly Review, April, 1953, pp. 478-85.

__________. "Whither Now and Why?" Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes, XXVIII (July, 1960), 135-41. Text of address before the Association of Social Science Teachers, Charlotte, South Carolina, April 1-2, 1960.

__________. The Gift of Black Folk: The Negroes in the Making of America. Boston: The Stratford Co., 1924.

__________. The Negro. Henry Holt and Company, 1915.

Rogers, Ben F. "William E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and Pan-Africanism." Journal of Negro History, XL (January, 1955), 154-66. Article attempts to explain why Garvey's Pan-Africanism was more successful than Du Bois'.

Rudwick, Eliot. W.E.B. Du Bois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966.

———. "Du Bois v. Garvey: Race Propagandist at War." *Journal of Negro Education*, XXVIII (Fall, 1959). An analysis of the propaganda war waged between the *Crisis* and the *Negro World*--the presses of the NAACP and the UNIA. Well-documented.

———. "The Niagara Movement." *Journal of Negro History*, XLII (July, 1957), 177-200. Article discusses the rise of the Niagara Movement--what it attempted and why it failed. A good, concise and well-documented history of the movement.

———. "W.E.B. Du Bois: In His Role of *Crisis* Editor." *Journal of Negro History*, XLII (July, 1958), 214-41. Author examines Du Bois' editorial policy as well as his relationship with the NAACP directors.

Also see the following sources listed in "General Works" for material on Du Bois: Broderick and Meier, Howard Brotz, Edwin R. Embree, Joanne Grant, William L. Katz, Rayford W. Logan, and Harvey Wish.

III. *Marcus Garvey*

Aron, Brigit. "The Garvey Movement: Shadow and Substance." *Phylon* (4th Quarter, 1947), 337-43. Article sketches history of Garveyism and suggests that there are contemporary organizations that are direct descendants of the UNIA.

Brisbane, Robert H. "Some New Light on the Garvey Movement." *Journal of Negro History*, XXXVI (January, 1951), 53-62. Good capsule summary of Garveyism--nothing "new," however, in his interpretation as he simply restates material found in either Cronon or Garvey.

Cronon, Edmund D. *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955. A well-written history of Garvey's black nationalist movement of the 1920's. Book examines both the positive and negative aspects of Garveyism. The bibliography indicates some of the extant speeches of Garvey.

Frazier, E. Franklin. "Garvey: A Mass Leader." *Nation*, August 18, 1926, pp. 147-48.

Garvey, Mrs. Amy Jacques. *Garvey and Garveyism*. Jamaica, W.I., 1926. This book is, as one would suspect, biased in favor of Garvey. It is nonetheless valuable in studying Garvey's rhetoric. It contains several speech texts.

———, ed. *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. New York: Atheneum, 1969. Excellent source book--contains several speech texts as well as good bit of Garvey personal papers.

Orr, Joan E. *Marcus Garvey: Rhetoric of Black Nationalism*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, August, 1966. A well-written Burkeian analysis of Garvey's rhetoric. Contains a text of Garvey's speech, "Empire of Ethiopia."

Simmons, Charles Willis. "The Negro Intellectual's Criticism of Garveyism." *The Negro History Bulletin*, XXV (November, 1961), 33-37. Article examines the attitude of Negro intellectuals during Garvey's time, demonstrating that the popularly held belief that intellectuals scoffed at Garvey is incorrect.

Starling, Lathan, Sr. and Donald Franklin. "The Life and Work of Marcus Garvey." *The Negro History Bulletin*, XXVI (October, 1962), 36-38.

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IV. Black Muslims

Edwards, H. "Black Muslims and Negro Christian Family Relations." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, XXX (November, 1968), 604-11.

Essien-Udom, E. U. *Black Nationalism--A Search for Identity in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962. A basic history of the Muslims which serves as a good supplement to Lincoln's work. Essien-Udom gives more details of Muslim ritual and dogma than does Lincoln.

Hatchett, John F. "The Moslem Influence Among American Negroes." *Journal of Human Relations*, X (Summer, 1962), 375-82.

Hentoff, Nat. "Elijah in the Wilderness." *Reporter*, August 4, 1960, pp. 37-40.

Lave, James E. "A Contemporary Revitalization Movement in American Race Relations: The Black Muslims." *Social Forces*, March, 1964, pp. 315-23. Article suggests that Muslims are emerging from the same kind of acculturated pressures as the peyote cult of American Indian tribes.

Lincoln, C. Eric. *The Black Muslims in America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961. A well-written sociological study of the Black Muslims. It contains a chapter on the historical antecedents of the Muslims. Well-documented.

————————. "The Black Muslims in New England." *New Englander*, June, 1962, pp. 10-11+.

————————. "Extremist Attitudes in the Black Muslim Movement." *New South*, January, 1963, pp. 3-10+. Article provides many examples of extremist ideas among Muslims and describes such attitudes as "part of the psychological paraphernalia which nurtures and sustains the movement..."

Lomax, Louis E. *When the Word is Given*. New York: Signet Books, 1963. A history of the Muslims with particular emphasis on its leaders--Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X. The volume contains several texts of speeches by Malcolm X.

Meier, August. "The Black Muslims: Racism in Reverse?" *Liberation*, April, 1967, pp. 9-13.

Morsell, John A. "The Meaning of Black Nationalism." *The Crisis*, February, 1962, pp. 69-77. NAACP journalist outlines the appeals of the Black Muslim movement and suggests counter strategies to be used by the NAACP.

Murdy, Ralph G. "Islam Incarcerated." *American Journal of Correction*, XXIII (January-February, 1961), 18-21.

Oliver, Revilo P. "The Black Muslims." *American Opinion*, January, 1963, pp. 23-39.

Parenti, Michael. "The Black Muslims: From Revolution to Institution." *Social Research*, XXXI (Summer, 1964), 175-94.

Samuels, Gertrude. "Feud Within the Black Muslims." *New York Times Magazine*, March 22, 1964. Article discusses Malcolm X's split with the Muslims.

Shack, William S. "Black Muslims: A Nativist Religious Movement Among Negro Americans." *Race*, November, 1961, pp. 57-67.

Sherwin, Mark. *The Extremists*. New York: St. Martins, 1963. Volume contains a chapter on Muslims, "Only Black is Right," pp. 190-212.

Whyte, Abbie. "Christian Elements in Negro American Muslim Religious Beliefs." *Phylon*, XXIV (Winter, 1964), 382-88.

Worthy, William. "The Nation of Islam: Impact and Prospects." *Midstream*, Spring, 1962, pp. 26-33.

Yaker, Henry M. "The Black Muslims in the Correctional Institution." *Welfare Reporter*, October, 1962, pp. 158-85.

Also see the following sources listed in "General Works" for material on Black Muslims: Murphy and Elingson, and Arnold M. Rose. (Rose's volume contains an essay by C. Eric Lincoln, "The Black Muslims as a Protest Movement.")

V. *Black Nationalism* (General Overview of Black Nationalism in U.S. History Prior to Garveyism.)

Bell, H. H. "Negro Nationalism: A Factor in Emigration Projects 1858-1861." *Journal of Negro History* (January, 1962), 42-53.

__________. "Negro Emigration Movements, 1849-1859: A Phase of Negro Nationalism." *Phylon* (June, 1959), 132-42.

Bittle, William Elmer. *The Longest Way Home: Chief Alfred C. Sam's Back-to-Africa Movement*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964. Well-written history of a back-to-Africa movement that occurred prior to Garveyism.

Bittle, William E. and Gilbert Geis "Alfred Charles Sam and an African Return: A Case Study in Negro Despair." *Phylon* (June, 1962), 178-94.

Boyd, W. D. "James Redpath and American Negro Colonization in Haiti, 1860-62." *Americas*, October, 1955, pp. 169-82.

Brewer, M. M. "Henry Highland Garnet." *Journal of Negro History* (January, 1928), 36-52.

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Cléven, Andrew N. "Some Plans for Colonizing Liberated Negro Slaves in Hispanic America." Journal of Negro History (January, 1926), 35-49.

Cook, F. "Scientific Approach to African Colonization." Washington Academy Science Journal (January, 1942), 1-17.

Coulter, E. Merton. "Henry M. Turner: Georgia Negro Preacher-Politician During the Reconstruction Era." Georgia Historical Quarterly, December, 1964), 371-410.

Cruse, Harold W. "Revolutionary Nationalism and the Afro-American." Studies on the Left, II (No. 3, 1963), 12-25.

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* An excellent bibliography of the Rhetoric of Racial Revolt was prepared by Roger Hite of the University of Oregon. Its focus is on the contemporary black movement. It contains numerous references in the area of biography that are not included in this bibliography.

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Bennett, Lerone, Jr. "SNCC: Rebels With a Cause." Ebony, July, 1965, pp. 146-153.

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Ladd, Everett C., Jr. "Agony of the Negro Leader," The Nation, September 7, 1964, pp. 88-91. Because the Negro leaders are vulnerable and necessarily preoccupied with maintaining their positions, they reach out continually for the techniques to dramatize their situations.

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- ALASKA
  - Alaska Spotlight (Anchorage)
- ARIZONA
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- ARKANSAS
  - Southern Mediator Journal (Little Rock)
- CALIFORNIA
  - California Voice (Oakland)
  - Herald Dispatch (Los Angeles)
  - Independent (San Francisco)
  - Light House (San Diego)
  - Metropolitan Gazette (Compton)
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  - Outlook (Bakersfield)
  - Post (Berkeley)
  - Ravenwood Post (Menlo Park)
  - Record (Los Angeles)
  - Sentinel (Los Angeles)
  - Sun-Reporter (San Francisco)
  - United Pictorial Review (Los Angeles)
  - Voice (San Diego)
- COLORADO
  - Blade (Denver)
- DELAWARE
  - Defender (Wilmington)
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
  - Afro-American
  - Capitol Spotlight
  - Informer
  - Observer
- FLORIDA
  - Advocate (Jacksonville)
  - Chronicle (Ft. Pierce)
  - Courier (Miami)
  - Florida Sentinel-Bulletin (Tampa)
  - Florida Star (Jacksonville)
  - Florida Star-News (Miami)
  - Photo News (West Palm Beach)
  - Spur (Ft. Lauderdale)
  - Times (Miami)
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- GEORGIA
  - Courier (Atlanta)
  - Herald (Savannah)
  - Inquirer (Atlanta)
  - News (Columbus)
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  - Iowa Bystander (Des Moines)
- KANSAS
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  - American Baptist (Louisville)
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- LOUISIANA
  - Hurricane (Bossier City)
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The Petal Paper. A focus on civil rights activities. East Publications, 410 Pomelo Street, Fairhope, Alabama 36532.

The Southern Courier. Reports on developments in the civil rights movement in the South with an emphasis on Alabama events. The Frank Leu Building, Room 1012, 79 Commerce Street, Montgomery, Alabama.

The Voice. (1959-1967). SNCC newsletter.

WCLC Newsletter. Western Christian Leadership Conference, 4802 McKinley, Los Angeles, California 90011.

Organizations

ACT, 765 East Oakwood, Chicago, Illinois. In Washington, D.C., 1834 9th Street, N.W., (202) 667-5285. Informal confederation of militant social action groups in low-income areas.

A. Philip Randolph Institute. 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10027.

Black Muslims (Nation of Islam). 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Congress of Racial Equality. 38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038. (212) CO 7-6270. In Washington, 1232 U Street, N.W. (202) 265-2410.

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 234-4722. Coordinates civil rights lobbying efforts.

NAACP. 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York 10018. (212) BR 9-1400. In Washington, 422 First Street, S.E. (202) 544-5694.

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. 323 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016. (212) 685-8911.

National Urban League. 55 East 52nd Street, New York, New York 10021. In Washington, 777 14th Street, N.W., Suite 624, D.C. (202) 393-4332.

Negro American Labor Council. 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York 10027. (212) 865-8710.

Poverty Rights Action Center. 1713 R Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. (202) 462-8804.

Revolutionary Action Movement. No formal address.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference. 334 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303. (404) 522-1420. In Washington, 812 S Street, N.W., D.C. 20001. (202) DU 7-3517.

Southern Regional Council. 5 Forsythe Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30503. (404) 522-8764.

Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30313. (404) 688-0331. In Washington, 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., D.C. (202) 387-7445.

Representative Black Speakers

Ralph David Abernathy
Richard Allen
Mary McLeod Bethune
Julian Bond
Edward Brooke
George Brown
H. Rapp Brown
Blanche K. Bruce
Ralph J. Bunche
Stokely Carmichael
Shirley Chisholm
Kenneth B. Clark
Lewis and Milton Clark
Edridge Cleaver
Frederick Douglass
H. Ford Douglass
W.E.B. Du Bois
Harry Edwards
Charles Evers
Medgar Evers
James Farmer
James Forman
John Hope Franklin
Henry Highland Garnet
Marcus Garvey
Dick Gregory
Francis J. Grimke
Charles V. Hamilton, Jr.
Nathan Hare
Herbert Hill
Norman Hill
Roy Innis
Jesse Jackson
Mordecai Johnson
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Malcolm X.
Thurgood Marshall
Floyd McKissick
James Meredith
Elijah Muhammad
Huey Newton
Daniel A. Payne
Channing Phillips
Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
J. C. Price
A. Philip Randolph
Reverdy Ransom
Charles Lenox Remond
Hiram R. Revels
Bayard Rustin
Bobby Seale
Carl B. Stokes
Sojourner Truth
Harriet Tubman
Booker T. Washington
Lauren Watson
Walter White
Roy Wilkins
Hosea L. Williams
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Significant Organizations and Movements

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights
American Anti-Slavery Society
American Colonization Society
American Freedman's Aid Commission
Black Muslims
Black Panthers
Black Student Association
Civil Rights Commission
Civil Rights Congress
Commission on Interracial Co-operation
Congress of Racial Equality
Council of Civil Rights Leadership
Council of Federated Organizations
Equal Employment Commission
Free African Society

Freedman's Bureau
Freedom Riders
Freedom Schools
Head Start Program
Liberty League of Negro Americans
Liberty Party
March on Washington (1942)
March on Washington (1963)
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
Mississippi Freedom Labor Unions
Mississippi Summer Project
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
National Convention of Colored Persons
National Council of Negro Women
National Black Economic Development Conference
National Negro Committee
National Negro Conference
Niagra Movement
Pan African Congress
Poor Peoples March on Washington
RAM
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Universal Negro Improvement Association
Urban League
Voter Education Project
White House Conference 1966